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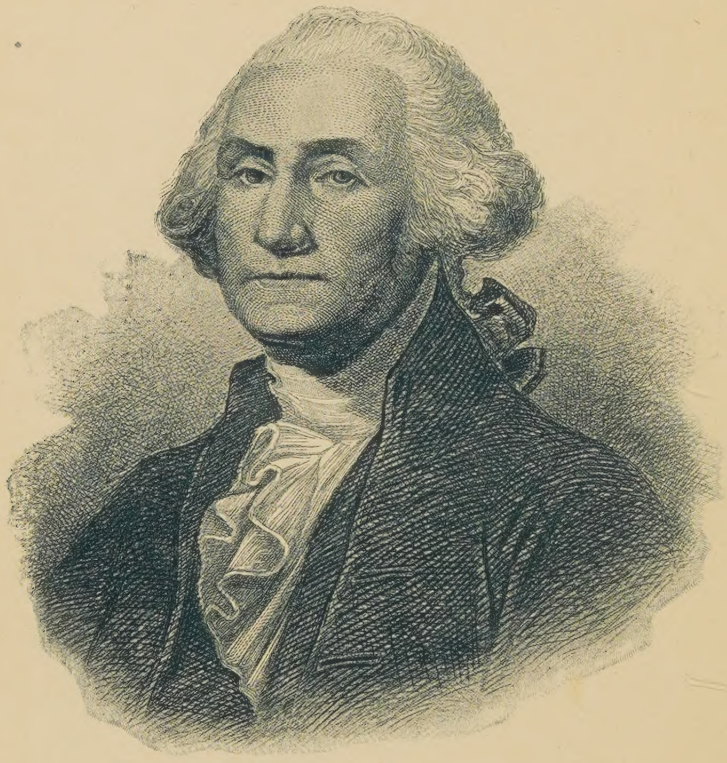

G. Washington

RIDPATH'S

UNIVERSAL HISTORY

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN, PRIMITIVE CONDITION, AND RACE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREATER DIVISIONS OF MANKIND, AND ALSO OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE EVOLUTION AND PROGRESS OF NATIONS FROM THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CIVILIZED LIFE TO THE CLOSE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

WITH A PRELIMINARY INQUIRY ON THE TIME, PLACE, AND MANNER OF THE APPEARANCE OF MAN ON THE EARTH

FROM RECENT AND AUTHENTIC SOURCES

By JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL.D.

Author of "Popular History of the United States," "Life and Times of William E. Gladstone," Etc., Etc.

Complete in Seventeen Volumes

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED WITH COLORED PLATES, ETHNOLOGICAL CHARTS, HISTORICAL MAPS, TYPE PICTURES, SKETCHES, AND DIAGRAMS

VOLUME XIII

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Preface to Volumes XIII and XIV.

IN pursuance of the general plan of the present work, I have now arrived at a break in the narrative which may well suggest the beginning of a new Volume. We here find ourselves in the dawn of the History of Modern Europe. Guizot has with great propriety designated the Crusades as "the first European event." By this is meant that the Holy Wars were the first event subsequent to the Dark Ages, in which the several countries of Europe, considered as a whole, joined their forces in a common cause under the influence of common sentiments and passions. When the crusading fever first appeared, Europe was, as we have seen, thoroughly broken up. The various States were segregated and hostile. There was no common opinion, no fact which might properly be called European. But at the close of the epoch, Modern Europe had been born. Chaos had brought forth. The political results of the tremendous agitation were the germs of institutions destined under the law of evolution and historical growth to expand and become permanent in the States and kingdoms of the present day.

It is at this point of view that we now take our stand. I shall hope to continue the narrative in the same manner as that already employed in the two preceding volumes. Albeit, the *matter* is now much changed from the character which it bore in the Classical Ages, and even more changed from the character which it bore in the Epochs of Darkness. In historical narrative every such change in subject-matter must needs be reflected to a certain extent in the style and treatment. The thought, when fixed intently on any event, takes by sympathy much of the form, and something of the substance, of the thing considered.

Since a Preface is largely personal, it may be appropriate that I should refer again to the part which historical writings are performing in the literature of our age, and particularly in the literature of our own country. The people of the United States hold a relation to the general history of mankind entirely singular and unique. No other people in ancient or in modern times have stood in so important an attitude with respect to civilization and the course of events. We have here in our American arena a larger and freer field of political and civil action than has ever been known hitherto among the nations. The civil and social life of the American people is set forth on a grander scale and with more striking phenomena than have ever been witnessed in other countries. The life of mankind associated, as distinguished from the life of man individual, is a larger fact in the United States than among any other people who have flourished since the times of the Grecian Democracies. All of these circumstances and conditions have conspired to produce in the American mind and in American life a better ground for historical study—for the knowledge of the past and its application to the present—than could be discovered in the situation and attainment of any other nation.

Among many peoples, viewed with respect to their social and political condition, it might well be said that history, as a branch of learning, should be remanded to a subordinate and unimportant place, or altogether omitted from the subjects of common inquiry. The lessons which the historians have with so much pains and labor deduced from the affairs of men in one age, and set forth for the instruction of men in another age, must needs be wasted on those nations that have not yet emerged from the Mediæval condition and reached political autonomy. Doubtless among peoples of this kind a few minds of superior force and more favorably developed may find profit from the pursuit and application of historical teach-

ings. But on the subjected masses all such learning is wasted as a jewel cast forth.

With the American people the case is fortunately different. Never under other conditions have the motive and aim of historical study been so powerfully present. The knowledge of events and of their meaning is to the American citizen an active force, determining both his opinions and conduct. From the furniture of the American mind many parts of information—many even of the important and valuable articles of mental merchandise—to say nothing of mere ornament, of articles of *vertu* and intellectual bric-a-brac, may be spared and still the equipment be fairly complete. But the American citizen uninformed in at least the primary lessons of history is weak indeed, fatally unarmed, as it respects both the offensive and defensive warfare of his citizenship.

This knowledge of historical events—a fair degree of information relative to the evolution of human society—is essential not only to a complete and rational citizenship, but also to the happiness, intelligence, and perfection of the American family. Of this family the informed mind is a fact which can not be spared. In the American household the members who constitute the social unit are not met together and associated merely to eat and sleep and survive. They are not joined simply as an industrial force or a coöperative contrivance. They are met, rather, and held in unity, by an intellectual and spiritual heat and light, without which organization does not organize and the domestic bond does not bind. It is from this point of view that American fatherhood and motherhood, and all the sentiments that spring therefrom, take to themselves a higher form and better destiny than have been reached by the people of other lands. At the American hearthstone, as truly even as at the fireside seen in the vision of the German poet, may be sung the touching ballad:

> Denn Brüderchen und Schweſterchen
> Sie kommen oft zu mir.
>
> For brotherkin and sisterkin
> They ofttimes come to me.

Reflections such as these have been with the writer a strong motive for persisting in the present task. The ideal People's History has not yet been produced, and perhaps it may be long before such a work shall be perfected. The qualities requisite therein are many and difficult to attain. One mind may hardly hope to possess them all. Moreover, the period of life is limited, and exertion tires. The days of the calendar are few and ofttimes full of rain. The enthusiasm of the worker does not always flame with equal warmth. Avocations and distresses are many, and come when patience and courage are hardly sufficient to welcome them with open hand.

It were long to say what limits of time and application are requisite for the completion of a task in History. In the preliminary study it is as though a traveler should ascend a mound to gain a clearer view of the horizon. Lo! the horizon recedes and widens as he climbs, and he at length perceives that there is no line at all! After this experience, so uncertain and so little satisfying, comes the actual work of construction, the painting of historical landscapes and their arrangement in the gallery so that the aggregate effect may be that of unity. Finally, perhaps, a period is reached, and the writer is able to survey his work. But how imperfect the whole appears! How feebly does it answer his hopes! How, to *his* eye at least, does the discrepancy seem emphasized between the glorious work that might have been and the paltry work that is.

I have already consumed on these volumes much time and effort. Perhaps at length I may be able to bring them to a standard which, while it may not satisfy, may nevertheless please somewhat the author's fancy, and profit in some small degree his unknown readers. Meanwhile, I here present to them the THIRD VOLUME of the series, beginning, as has been said above, with the dawn of Modern Europe and extending to the close of that Age of Revolution by which Mediæval society was at last transformed into the society of the present century. My hope is that all who have an interest in the writer's work, or in himself, may find in this third section of the HISTORY OF THE WORLD a measure of gratification and advantage.

J. C. R.

GREENCASTLE, *March*, 1890.

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Introduction to Volumes XIII and XIV.

BY common consent the historical period subsequent to the Crusades is considered one of the most difficult and confused in the pages of human progress. Events whirled round and round. The epoch was tentative. The consciousness of Modern Europe, which for the first time had found self-revelation in the heat of the Holy Wars, now sought organic expression in political forms and social institutions. But the elements of society were suspicious, and stood asunder. As it respects the actual civil condition of the Western States in the era under consideration only a few facts can be noted with distinctness; the rest can be seen only in cloud-form and nebula. First, it is clear that the two centuries succeeding the Crusades are the times of the emergence and forthstanding of the modern European KING. Until then he was not. His genesis dates from the hither decades skirting the Holy Wars. The kings and emperors of the Ancient World and of the ages preceding the establishment of Feudalism in Europe were of a type strongly discriminated from the prevalent styles of royalty in the last four centuries. The modern type was deduced from feudal chieftainship and enlarged by the Crusades. It was in the Holy Wars that he who had been a count or baron became by military growth a monarch. The smaller lord of the multitude either perished in battle with the Turks, or was overshadowed by his suzerain; the latter became the king.

While the great leaders of the crusading hosts were thus augmented in power and glory, another fact of different sort may be discovered clearly in the dimness of the age. This is the emergence of the PEOPLE. The people of modern times differ as much from the corresponding fact in the social and civil organization of antiquity as does the monarch of to-day from a king of Persia or an emperor of Rome—as does Cleopatra from Eugênie, or Alexander from William of Germany. A true people was a thing unknown in Ancient History, nor has the fact so-called received as yet a complete development and revelation. Slow and painful has been the emergence of this last great element of civilization. Strange it is that the evolution of humanity seems to be the only process which has been resisted instead of aided by universal nature—that the growth of the social and political creature is the one growth which has been retarded and perpetually disturbed—not indeed by the blind laws of the material world—but by the artificial restraints and unreasoning hostilities of every thing that thinks.

However the aspect of the Middle Ages may be presented in philosophic history, thus much is clear, that to this period of human development belongs, on the one side, the genesis of the modern *King*, and, on the other, the genesis of the modern *People*. These two great facts, associated in the caption, have been taken as the highest generalization possible for the two centuries immediately following the crusading epoch; and under this heading of PEOPLE AND KINGS the subject-matter of the First Book of the present Volume will be presented.

From this historical condition, however, we turn quickly to another aspect, wholly different and vastly more exciting. Among the physical facts which have influenced the course and character of civilization, the first place may perhaps be assigned to the DISCOVERY OF AMERICA. Virtually, one-half of the world had hitherto lain hidden behind the Western waters. The people of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries did well to regard the event as the revelation of a New World. At the

first the nature of the great discovery was but dimly apprehended, and the well-nigh infinite results which have flowed therefrom were not discerned at all.

There can be little doubt that the human race has in its general course conformed to the order of physical nature. The laws of the material world have held man fast, and determined the extent of his excursions. In no other fact has this domination of nature over humankind been more conspicuously exhibited than in the leap which the man of the fifteenth century, following the path of the sun, took across the Atlantic. The time came when he must go. The westward draft was strong upon him. The electrical currents that girdle the earth, determining its motion and polar slope, circled also around the human brain; and the same law which twists the vine from left to right around the tree, carried the barques of Columbus and Cabot to the western verge of the ocean of Atlas.

What the destinies of mankind might have been if no New World had been revealed, it is needless to conjecture. The question belongs to the long list of historical *ifs* which it is not profitable to consider. In Europe two great attempts had been made to construct a permanent civilization. In the first place, the two Southern peninsulas, dropping into the Mediterranean, had been brought under the dominion of those forces which humanize mankind. In Hellas and Italy there was the light of knowledge and the activity of reason. After the wreck of Rome, at the close of the fifth century, the energies of man, roughly displayed in the coarse body of barbarism, began to strain towards light and freedom in the countries north of the Alpine ranges. During the whole period of the Middle Ages the slow and toilsome ascent of humanity, climbing towards the summit of its ancient renown, may be noted in all those European States which Winter honors with his snows.

In the eternal and unalterable destiny of things it was decreed that the third act of the drama should be witnessed on this side of the deeps. America was to be the scene of the newest—let us believe the grandest—display of human power and aspiration ever exhibited on this sphere of earth. The story of the revelation of the new field of hope and endeavor will naturally claim our attention in the opening paragraghs of what may be called the recent history of mankind. The period extending from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the present day has been like a new youth to the human race—stormy, agitated, dashed with sun and rain, full of warmth and fecundity and power.

The movement of man across the sea to the new lands of the West is strangely connected in time with a corresponding activity in the world of thought and reason. With the overthrow of paganism in Western Europe, the system of religion, germinal in the Son of Mary and the Carpenter, formulated afterwards by Paul and the Apostles, made organic and aggressive by the genius of Rome, had been planted amid the ruins of heathenism in all the countries from the Thracian Chersonesus to Ireland and Portugal. Within these limits the universality of the system had been achieved. It seemed that the great *Imperium in imperio* was really established among the kingdoms, never to be removed or shaken. The three-storied mitre of the Holy Father might well symbolize the height and breadth and depth—not to say the arrogant grandeur—of that dominion which Cephas, who carried the famous keys at his girdle, was *said* to have planted on the Tiber. That any shock could break the solidarity of Rome and scatter the fragments to the left and right, appeared the most improbable of all chimeras.

But it is the peculiarity of History to surprise and hurl down the impotent logic of man. In the very day when the bastions of his greatest syllogism seem more impregnable than the Hill of Taric, it is doomed to reel from its foundations and come down with a crash. So it was in the day of the Lutheran Reformation. Rome was saying in her heart, "I sit a queen." The dome of St. Peter's, glorified by the genius of Buonarotti, looked serenely from a cloudless sky. The obedient kingdoms lay around; nor might it be supposed that the fury of an iron-forger's son could excite even a smile of derision on the omnipotent face of the Vicar of God.

Considered merely as a secular catastrophe, and without much regard to the beliefs and doctrines involved in the conflict, the audacious attack of the Reformers on the tre-

mendous structure of Rome, and their long-continued battle with an antagonist that could only yield with death, must ever constitute one of the most instructive chapters in human history. In reality the Reforming party was from the beginning predestined to success. For that party had on its side the fundamental and unalterable principles of human nature. The natural man—the man that lives and hopes, and loves freedom and hates slavery—was a stronger ally of Luther than Frederick the Wise or Philip Melanchthon. The profound core and center of humanity was worth more to the monk of Wittenberg than the Peace of Passau or the Edict of Toleration. For this reason it is easy to discover why it was that the progress of the Reformation was checked and quenched at the borders of all those lands in which the principles of civil liberty and the deeper principles of freedom in the heart had been extinguished.

No sooner was the structure of Catholicism broken by the sword of religious revolt than the movement spread into the civil and political life of the epoch. Fully a quarter of a century before the Treaty of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War, an agitation was begun in our ancestral Island which was destined to work among the abuses of temporal power the same kind of reform which had been achieved in the spiritual kingdom. The English revolutionists of 1640 took up and carried forward the war which had been begun by the Reformers in Germany. Cromwell was the political Luther of the seventeenth century, and the struggle with the Stuarts at home and abroad was only another phase of the battle with Rome.

Thus we see that the period of History on which we are next to enter, will consist of two principal parts: first, the discovery of another continent on the hither side of the Atlantic; and second, the revelation of a new world in the soul and conscience of man. Perhaps no two events with which the student of the past is familiar are more analogous and accordant in their nature than the Reformation of the sixteenth century and the discovery of America. These two great facts, so closely related in time and circumstance, are even more profoundly interwoven when we come to consider the endless and inseparable web which issues from the loom of humanity and progress. The eye of philosophy will not fail to discover that the emancipation of thought, in at least a part of the European countries, and the drawing aside of the curtain which concealed the two Americas behind the salt-mists of the Western sea, are but a part and parcel of a common movement which had—and has—for its end and aim the liberation of the human spirit from thralldom and the institution of a higher form of civilization among the peoples of the earth.—To these great themes of NEW WORLD AND REFORMATION and ENGLISH REVOLUTION the attention of the reader will be directed in the second general division of the current Volume.

We thus press hard upon a sixty year's prelude to the great Revolutionary Age of the eigteenth century. There was an introductory act to the tremendous social and political transformation about to be in Europe and America. If we thoughtfully consider the period from the death of Louis XIV. in 1715 to the outbreak of our War of the Revolution in 1775, we shall be able to discern everywhere in the turmoil of the elements the premonitory swirls of the coming tempest. In our own country it was the age of intercolonial warfare. France and England contended with each other for the mastery of the New World. The Colonies themselves were not without their enmities and causes of hostility. The settlements of the French and of the English were precipitated upon each other, and the parent nations rallied to the support of their respective transatlantic States.

Meanwhile the European nations had become embroiled in difficulties more serious than those which existed on this side of the sea. The long apathy which ensued in France in the early years of Louis XV. was succeeded about the middle of the century by a reäction which was destined, before it should abate, to sweep away many of the political landmarks of the continent. France awoke from her torpor. Her thought became emancipated, though her body was still in chains. Her great thinkers began to emit those flashes of light which were soon to illumine the confines of Europe and the world. As a physical fact the War of the Austrian succession came in, adding by its shock to the rising agitation of

the epoch. England became embroiled as usual in the controversies of the continental Powers. Then it was that that peculiar, eccentric, and solitary character called FREDERICK THE GREAT was first seen on the horizon of the age. The sword of the flute-piper flashed like a premonitory gleam of lightning in the distance, and then the storm began to pour.

Of this introductory part to the Revolutionary Age which was to follow, the Seven Years' War, in which the rising power of Prussia announced itself to the world, was the opening scene. Not without its phases of bravado and meanness and heroism was this fierce struggle, wherein the hard-pressed but resolute Frederick came forth with well-earned laurels. In England, meanwhile, the shadow of the House of Stuart had faded away forever. The Hanoverian princes had come to stay, and with their coming a reäction against the Whig Revolution of 1688 had set in, which threatened imminent mischief to the political liberties of men. George III., though strongly contrasted by his personal merits with his fellow-king of France, and still more strongly with the flaming audacity of Frederick, was a fit contemporary of the former, and an unworthy kinsman of the latter. Such was the aspect of affairs when the quarrel between Great Britain and her American States announced that the curtain was up for that tremendous drama which was destined to fill up the remaining annals of the century.

The history of the American and French Revolutions, covering a period in all of forty years, must ever be regarded by the thoughtful student of events, as among the most important transformations of the political and social world. At no other time, and in no other part of human annals, have mankind made such rapid and audacious strides. The epoch was tempestuous and anarchic. It was one of those fruitful eras in which the germs of new things, long dormant in the earth, felt strongly the flush of sunshine and the sympathy of the rain. There was sudden outbursting from a soil which had seemed for centuries to be stricken with the curse of everlasting barrenness and desolation. True, the green surface of this new world was everywhere splashed with blood. Armies of fighting men, drifting from horizon to horizon, struck each other like black clouds flying tempest-wise through the air. It seemed that the world would never grow calm again. It was the March and April of what promised to be a new summer of peace and development.

If we consider mere personalities, the three principal figures of this stormy epoch—leaders of men towering high above the surrounding forests — were Frederick, Washington, and Bonaparte. The first surpassed in fierce ingenuity and in power of revival from defeat. The second gave to his age and to all ages the sublimest example of greatness, modified and held in check by those moral virtues which are reckoned the crowning glory of the warrior. The third exibited in his person the greatest development of human power which has been witnessed since the days of Julius Cæsar, if not indeed since the beginnings of civilization. The drama of which he was the principal figure corresponded in its terrible aspects with the fiery activities of him who was the principal actor.

Such was the so-called AGE OF REVOLUTION. It was the last bequest of the eighteenth and the first inheritance of the nineteenth century. All that has followed has issued from this period of fire and tempest. Our own war for freedom, and the more stirring conflict in revolutionary France, were the political facts which have given to the present era its form and fashion.—To these great scenes and transformations of the historical drama the attention of the reader will be directed in the concluding parts of the present Volume.

RIDPATH'S

UNIVERSAL HISTORY

VOLUME XIII.

BOOK XVI.—THE PEOPLE AND THE KINGS

BOOK XVII.—NEW WORLD AND REFORMATION

QUEEN ELIZABETH

SIGNING THE DEATH WARRANT OF MARY STUART

Book Sixteenth.

The People and the Kings.

Chapter XCIV.—The Free Cities.

BEFORE the close of the crusading epoch a new fact appeared in the political society of Europe—the Free Corporate City. True it is that the Roman Empire had been composed of cities. That great power had its myriad feet planted within the walls of towns rather than in rural regions and fields. In ancient times the *country* was an almost unknown quantity in the political affairs of states and kingdoms. Rome was built of cities, and when in the fifth century all her bonds were loosened, to cities she returned. But it should be carefully observed that under the Roman system the corporate town had no *independent* existence. It was a part of the general structure, subject in all things and all respects to the decrees of the Senate and the edicts of the Emperor. In this regard the city which constituted an integral part of the fabric of Rome presented a marked contrast to the *free* city of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

In the course of time the corporate towns into which the Roman Empire was resolved fell under the dominion of Feudalism. Not only the peasant populations but the towns also were conquered by the barbarians, and when after the age of Charlemagne society became disintegrated and the Feudal System arose on the ruins, the mediæval cities passed naturally under the common despotism established by the baronial lords. The towns were either included within the limits of the fiefs in which they were geographically situated, or were themselves erected into fiefs under their respective suzerains. It thus happened that in the transformation of Ancient into Modern Europe the urban populations passed through nearly the same vicissitudes as did the countrymen and peasants.

It came to pass, however, that the maintenance of feudal authority over the cities was more difficult than over the country fiefs. The country was the native seat of Feudalism. In the case of the cities there seemed to be something unnatural in the suzerainty of baronial lords who lived in castles on their estates, and whose only care within the city gates was to gather the annual taxes. It is

probable that from the first a feeling of impatience and resentment was cherished by the citizens of the Middle Ages against the coarse but powerful masters whom they were obliged to obey. It could hardly be doubted that when opportunity should occur the cities would revolt and strike for liberty and independence.

Before proceeding to give an account of the insurrection of the mediæval burghers against the feudal lords it may prove of interest to sketch the condition of life within one of the corporate towns of the twelfth century. Strange is the contrast here presented to any thing with which the citizens of the nineteenth century are familiar. The town of the Middle Ages was *walled* to begin with. The rampart, the tower, the gate, the bastion, were necessities of the situation. Protection to what was within, defense against what was without, seemed to be—and was—the first condition of urban prosperity and peace. The city life of the Middle Ages was shut up within an inclosure and was set in the strongest contrast with the open and roving life of the country.

Not only were the cities themselves built with walls and towers, but the houses of the burgesses were constructed with the same regard to defense. The dominant thought was war. The building was generally three stories in height, each story consisting of but a single room. The structure was square, and whether of wood or stone was characterized by great strength and solidity. The first story was the eating-room of the family. Nor was the burgher overscrupulous about admitting domestic animals to this apartment. In the room above, which was high and strong, the master and family had their dwelling. The third story was occupied by the children and domestics. This room was well adapted for defense, the windows being narrow and constructed with a view to the discharge of missiles. On the top of the house was a look-out, or observatory, from which in times of danger the burgher might survey his surroundings and order the best means of defense. As a general rule the dwelling was flanked with a tower built four-square, with projecting corners, and of the most solid materials which the means of the builder could command.

As to the burgess himself he presented a type of character not other where to be found in the Middle Ages. He was a soldier citizen. By vocation he was a merchant, a trader, a manufacturer, a gardener. In him was an element of thrift for which one might have looked in vain outside of the city walls. Perhaps the burgess owned and tilled a small farm beyond the defenses, and from this gathered the produce which he sold in the market. Perhaps he was a maker of cheese. Perhaps he was a smith, a carpenter, a tanner, a manufacturer of harness. The mediæval towns thus became a kind of rookeries for the industrious, subject always to the discouraging circumstance of the feudal despotism under which they groaned.

For purposes of government and defense the burgesses were organized into a municipality. There was a burgomaster, or magistrate of the town, who was the chief executive, and who presided over the town council. But the authority was lodged in the whole body of citizens. These were called together by the ringing of the church bells, and questions of policy and management were submitted to their vote. Elections of officers were held in the manner of modern times, and every man had his voice in the state: the state was the city.

The perils to which the cities were exposed from the rapacity of the feudal lords encouraged the organization of a town militia. Every burgess became a soldier. He possessed a coat-of-mail and a pike. He was expected to turn out at a moment's notice, clad in his own armor. But while the civic community was converted into a soldiery, it was a soldiery *for defense*. No aggressive movements were contemplated. The bottom fact in the whole situation was a *property interest* which must be defended, and to this end the citizen democrats of the Middle Age bent all their energies.

Great was the activity, the courage, the enterprise of the mediæval burgesses. In those happy intervals when the sun of peace shed his effulgence through the rifts of feudal warfare, the cities were all a-hum with industry. The merchant grew wealthy; the tradesman had his home; the smith enlarged his forge; the gardener obtained a better price for his carrots and cabbages.

It will be easily perceived that the condition of affairs in the towns tended powerfully to association and the growth of democracy. In the city each man was braced against his neighbor. Each felt himself strong in proportion as he was a part of a whole. This was the exact reverse of Feudalism. In that system the man was every thing, the organization nothing. In the city the organization was every thing, the man but little. Two tendencies were thus developed, which in their political relations drew in opposite directions. The one led to the government of the masses by an isolated nobility, and the other to the autonomy of a democratic citizenship.

The burgesses of the twelfth century exhibited two qualities seemingly inconsistent, if not irreconcilable in the same character. These were boldness and timidity—boldness in local affairs, timidity in matters affecting the state. Of the management of their own city they knew every thing and assumed all responsibility. Of the general politics of the kingdom they knew nothing. The wall of the city bounded the horizon of urban activities. Within this circuit there was an immense display of enterprise, courage, self-assertion; but into the great world beyond the timid burgess ventured only with humble demeanor as if he were an unwelcome intruder in the realms of another greater than himself.

Such, in brief, was the condition of city life in the beginning of the twelfth century. The Crusades had just begun. The pilgrim armies were recruited from the baronial estates and villages rather than from the towns. The citizens knew more and cared less for the practices and purposes of Islam than did the less intelligent inhabitants of the country. The latter were more under the influence of the Church than were the mercantile classes in the towns. The trades-people of the Middle Ages had widened the horizon of their knowledge, while the peasants had remained in ignorance, subject to the caprice of the priest and the follies of superstition. It thus happened that the towns were in a condition to profit by the outbreak of the crusading turmoil. The merchant classes got gain at the expense of the country gone mad over the news of Turkish outrages done to Christians in the East.

The chief manufactures of Mediæval Europe were located in the towns, and to these the Crusaders must apply for their war-harness and accouterments. The tradesmen were sufficiently pious to furnish the pilgrims with arms and to charge therefor such rates of profit as would have been satisfactory to an Israelite. By this means a large part of the wealth of Feudal Europe flowed into the towns, so that by the middle of the century most of the baronial estates had either consumed their resources or were heavily mortgaged to capitalists living in the cities. The burghers grew great in wealth, while the baronial lords were cleaving the skulls of Turks and Mamelukes in the kingdom of Jerusalem.

From these conditions it is easy to discover the antecedent probability of a revolt of the cities against the authority of the feudal lords. The event answered to the logic of the situation. The burgesses wearied at length of the exactions and tyranny of the barons. Many of the latter were absent in the Holy Wars. Some returned impoverished and therefore hungry. Their rapacity was inflamed with the spectacle of prosperity in the towns. It would be interesting to analyze the feeling and sentiments of a feudal lord of the twelfth century, just returned with broken fortunes from the Holy Land, where he had been fighting the battles of the Cross. With what contempt he must have looked upon the rotund merchants, jolly tanners, and fat cheese-makers in the neighboring market-place! Had he not a right, being a Christian soldier, to take from these sordid trades-people the ill-gotten treasures which they, the base cowards, had heaped up while he was in foreign lands battling with Infidels?

On the other hand, the citizens had come to understand their power. Time and again they had shut their gates and beaten off bands of brigands and robbers, by whom they had been assailed. As for this feudal lord, whose subjects they had been for two hundred years, why should they any longer pay to him the annual tribute by which he supported himself and his bands of retainers in idleness and plenty? Why should the city be taxed from year to year to furnish the

means of that perpetual warfare demanded by the ambition and lust of the baronial master?

Here the issue was made up squarely. On the one side were the feudal lords, their soldiers, peasants, vassals; on the other the burgesses of the cities. The former had the advantage of skill in war; the latter, of walls and plentiful supplies. The towns broke into insurrection. They shut their gates against the barons and challenged the consequences. There was a general revolt of the municipalities of Italy, France, and Germany. It does not appear that there was any preconcerted plan on the part of the cities to throw off the feudal yoke; but the situation in the various civic communities of Western Europe was so nearly identical as to lead to the same result in all. Then followed a war—a war of aggression on the part of the barons to recover possession of their towns, and of the citizens to gain their independence. On the whole the advantage was on the side of the citizens, for they had abundant supplies. They fought for their homes and for existence; for such was the rage of the feudal lords at the insurgents that little mercy was to be expected in case the revolt should fail. It was evident to the burgesses that if they should be reconquered their walls would be thrown down, their houses and markets pillaged, and themselves reduced to a bondage more galling than before. So they fought with desperate courage, and for the most part succeeded.

In some instances the feudal lords were successful in the conflict. When that happened the ramparts were demolished and the municipality virtually extinguished. As a rule the barons, when victorious, were too much occupied with thoughts of revenge to stop short of the signal punishment of the rebel citizens. The leaders were executed and so much property confiscated as to destroy all prospect of a return of prosperity. But in far the larger number of instances the citizens were the victors. The lords, after carrying on the siege for an indefinite period, were beaten off or brought to a parley. When this state of affairs supervened the triumphant burgesses were little disposed to accept any thing less than absolute independence. Here again a likeness of situation begot a similarity of results. In the conferences which were held between the baffled barons and the burgesses the latter demanded as a guaranty of their liberties CHARTERS OF FREEDOM; and the lords were obliged to concede what they were no longer able to withhold. The charters were granted and the cities became free.

Such was the emancipation of the citizen class or commons of Mediæval Europe. In its results the movement was even more important than the Crusades. It was the beginning of a republican democracy in modern times. The successful insurrection of the cities against the feudal tyranny of the twelfth century was the birth of that great fact called the PEOPLE. A people, considered as a political force, began to exist. Hitherto there had been kings, nobles, prelates, lords, and then a great gap; after that, peasants and serfs, but no *People*. The mediæval burghers, standing shoulder to shoulder, cased in mail and wielding pikes in defense of their city, were the fathers of the people, the political ancestors of ourselves.

For this emancipation of the European Commons no fixed date can be assigned. As a general fact the movement began earlier in Italy and the south of France than in other parts of Europe. It was natural that the insurrection should occur first in these localities; for in the Italian towns and those of Southern France there was much more intelligence, much more enterprise, much more public spirit than in other civic communities of the Middle Ages. In these towns there were many remains of the culture and urban activities of the Romans, and here the people felt most keenly the effects of the barbarian conquest. From the first they were restless under the domination of the feudal barons, and abided the time when they might recover, even by revolt and war, their independence.

The thoughtful reader will not fail to discover in the emancipation of the cities one of the prime causes of the downfall of Feudalism. The feudal system had, in the first place, become independent of monarchy. During the tenth and eleventh centuries the kings were reduced to a shadow. The triumph of the barons was civil, political, and territorial. It now came to pass that the cities did the same thing with respect to Feudalism that Feudalism had done with respect to

royalty. The municipalities struck for independence, and won it. As a consequence of the insurrection, a citizen class, a commons, a people sprang into existence and at once became a factor in the affairs of New Europe—the Europe of the future. Feudalism thus found itself pressed between two hostile facts; namely, Royalty on the one side and the People on the other. By one of those strange vicissitudes so plentifully discoverable on the leaves of history, *the kings and the people were brought into a league against the feudal barons.* This was the secret of the situation. Feudalism began to be pressed between royalty and nascent democracy, and the political society of Europe seemed in the act of emerging from the mediæval gloom in the form of two facts—Kings and People. On the one hand, monarchy began to triumph over the feudal institutions of the age, and on the other a vast citizenship rose up as if born of the earth.

It was under these conditions that the ITALIAN REPUBLICS of the Middle Ages sprang up and flourished. They were simply free cities of a larger growth. They first became self-directing, then independent, then wealthy, then great. It can not be doubted that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the most progressive and liberal societies of Europe were the civic communities of maritime Italy. Here commerce opened her marts. Here thrived enterprise and invention. Here the arts found a resting-place. Here the weird evangelist of the New Era lifted his voice and spoke of letters and philosophy.

The remainder of the present chapter may well be devoted to a sketch of some of the republican cities of the South of Europe. At the head of the Adriatic we first of all look to

> "The wingéd lion's marble piles
> Where VENICE sate in state throned on her hundred isles."

Built in a lagoon hardly distinguishable from the sea, supported on piles, divided by more than a hundred canals, the city presented, even from the seventh century, a spectacle as interesting as the situation was anomalous. Venice was founded about the year 452, when the fugitives from Aquileia, which had been laid waste by the army of Attila, sought refuge in the marsh-lands and island fens of the Upper Adriatic. Here they began to build, supporting themselves the while by fishing and the manufacture of salt. From the first these enterprising people, though nominally dependent on the Western Empire of the Romans, asserted and maintained a sort of autonomy, unlike any thing that might be elsewhere found in the dominions of the Cæsars.

The ancient Venetians virtually governed themselves. They elected their own consuls and tribunes, and managed the affairs of the city in what manner soever seemed most conducive to public interest. The democratic forms were preserved until the year 697 when, under the leadership of Christoforo, patriarch of the island of Grado, the ducal style of government was adopted. At the head of the state was the duke or doge, who held his office for life. The first to be elected to this dignity was Paolo Lucca Anafesto, who was chosen in the same year of the revolution. The ducal throne was supported by a civic nobility, the same being composed of the families of the twelve deposed tribunes. The conditions of an oligarchy were thus present in the Venetian constitution, and it was not long until the baleful tendency to concentrate the political power in the hands of the aristocracy was manifested.

During the eighth century the seat of government was several times transferred from island to island, and Venice, like the republican cities of Ancient Greece, became the prey of demagogues. At last, in the year 810, the island of the Rialto was permanently fixed upon as the capital and made the center of the wonderful commercial interest which constituted the basis of Venetian greatness. The other islands were joined to the Rialto by means of wooden bridges.

The nominal allegiance of Venice was transferred to the Visigothic kingdom of Italy. With the downfall of that power the Venetian Republic passed to the dominion of the Eastern Emperors, and from the latter the ducal scepter was claimed by the Imperial house of Germany. In all of these relations, however, the state of Venice remained, as it had been from the first, virtually an independent power. In the year 829 the city was fortunate enough to obtain from Alexandria the bones of St. Mark, who became thenceforth

her patron saint. His shrine was honored with the presence of scores of pilgrims who, coming from distant parts, added to the wealth of the Republic.

In the latter part of the eleventh century Venice began to extend her authority by conquest and purchase. Several territories in Italy, in Dalmatia, in Croatia, and in Istria acknowledged her sway. Her commerce reached to the remotest seas, and embassies were received at the ducal palace from the principal nations of Europe and Asia. In this respect that she surpassed all other nations of the Middle Ages in the extent and variety of her merchandise. The carrying trade of the world fell into her hands, and was so skillfully directed that the marts of St. Mark became the commercial and monetary metropolis of the world.

When, in the latter part of the twelfth century, the Lombard cities of Italy made an alliance against the German Emperor, the Venetians joined the league; and when, in 1177, Otho, son of Frederick Barbarossa, had

CHURCH OF ST. MARK, VENICE.

common with the other states of the West she became involved in the Crusades. Two years after the Council of Clermont she sent out a great squadron to Syria to aid Godfrey of Bouillon in the conquest of Palestine, but the military results of the expedition were not equal to the commercial advantages gained by the fleet while nominally engaged in the Holy War. The Venetians, quick to perceive the advantages of trading-posts in the East, diverted their energies to the securing of commercial privileges in the ports of Syria and Egypt. Such was the energy of the Republic the rashness to give battle to their fleet, they won over that monarch a complete and decisive victory. It was on this occasion that Pope Alexander III., in whose interest the battle was fought, gave to the doge Ziani a ring, and instituted the celebrated ceremony of *marrying the Adriatic*.[1] As a result of the

[1] This nuptial rite, so interesting and poetical, consisted in the espousals of the doge to the Sea. It was celebrated annually, when, on the occasion, the duke would come forth on the Rialto, drop a wedding ring into the water, and exclaim: "We thus espouse thee, O Sea, as our bride and queen!"

MARRIAGE OF THE DOGE OF VENICE WITH THE SEA.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

victory the Emperor Otho was obliged to consent to the calling of a congress, which assembled at Venice and determined the conditions of peace.

It will be remembered that the first armies of Crusaders marched overland, through Hungary, by way of Constantinople, into Asia Minor. Later on the advantages of the water route to the East began to be recognized. Venice became the favored port of debarkation. Here, in the year 1202, the warriors of the Fourth Crusade gathered, preparatory to embarkation in the Venetian fleet. Here it was that the Crusaders, unable to pay the sums which themselves had promised as the price of their transportation to the East, were induced, against the angry protests of the Pope, to make up the deficieney by joining the Venetians in a campaign against the insurgent people of Dalmatia. The story of this episode, of the subsequent diversion of the Fourth Crusade against Constantinople, of the exploits of the blind old doge Dandolo, and of the establishment of a Latin Empire on the ruins of the Greek, has already been narrated in the preceding Book.[1]

In her period of greatest renown Venice extended her dominion over the fairest portion of the Byzantine Empire. Southern Greece, Crete, Eubœa, and many of the islands of the Archipelago passed under her sway and shared in the splendor of her ascendency. The mother city, enriched with the spoils of the East, became the most magnificent of all the cities of Europe. Her nobility were the proudest of the proud. Her palaces were the most splendid of the Middle Ages. Her spirit was cosmopolitan; her wealth unlimited; her learning great; her art superb.

Venice was in some sense a city of Protestants. The papal power was never able to work its will in the palace and square of St. Mark. The doges and people were nearly always in some kind of antagonism to the church. Even when the Inquisition came, it was subjected to civil authority. When, in 1261, Michael Palæologus obtained possession of Constantinople and established his House in the seat of the Eastern Cæsars; when he leaned upon the Genoese, the aspiring rivals of the Venetians, and shored up his throne with their arms, the subjects of the doge went to war with Genoa, and the two Republics fought with the desperate valor of the free.

Nor was the elder always able to overcome the younger in the conflict. Once and again the Venetians were brought to the verge of ruin. To their other sorrows and calamities were added those which came from internal dissensions and revolutions. In 1355 a great convulsion occurred in the state, which ended in the overthrow of the ducal throne and the execution of the doge Marino Faliero—a circumstance which has furnished to the genius of Byron the materials for one of his splendid and gloomy tragedies.[1]

Afterwards, Venice recovered from these shocks and continued to grow in wealth and renown until the beginning of the fifteenth century. The acme of her greatness is generally dated with the reign of the doge Tommaso Mocenigo, who died in 1423.

The city of Milan is the ancient Mediolanum. Her existence goes back at least as far

[1] See Book Fifteenth, p. 745.

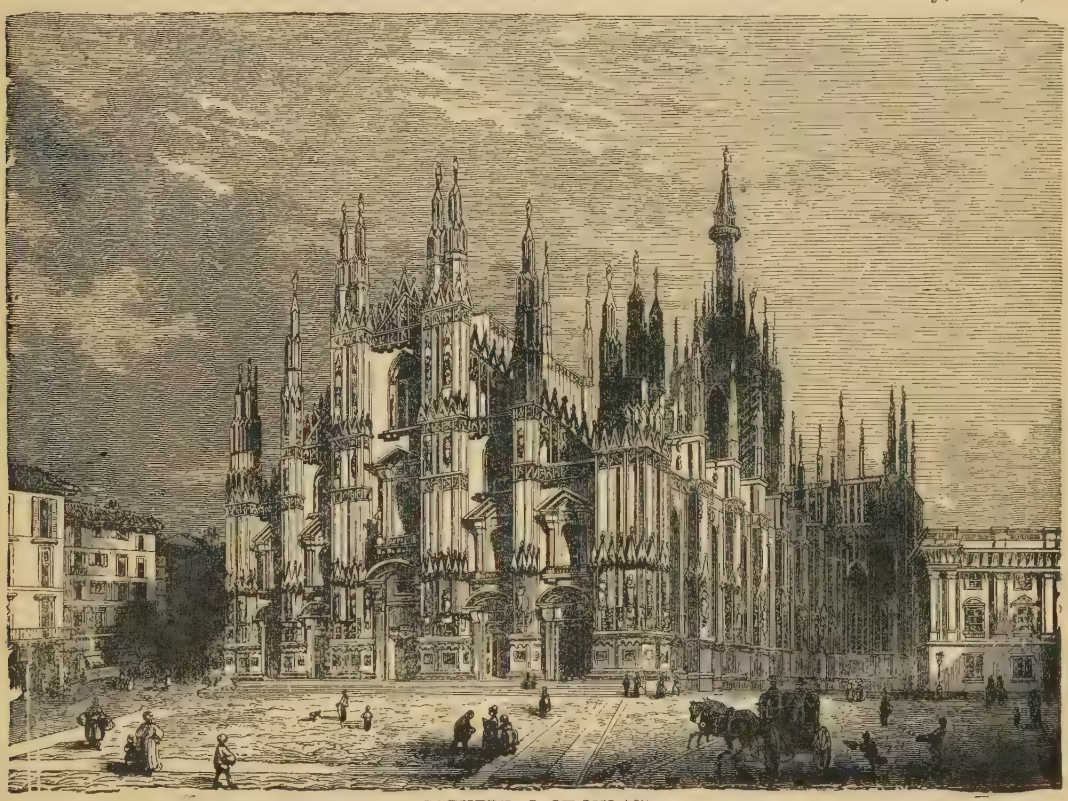
[1] The curse which the great poet makes Faliero pronounce, just before his execution, on the ungrateful Venice and her "serpent seed," is the most terrible anathema in English literature:

"She shall be bought
And sold, and be an appanage to those
Who shall despise her!—She shall stoop to be
A province for an empire, petty town
In lieu of capital, with slaves for senators,
Beggars for nobles, panders for a people!
Then when the Hebrew's in thy palaces,
The Hun in thy high places, and the Greek
Walks o'er thy mart and smiles on it for his!
When thy patricians beg their bitter bread
In narrow streets, and in their shameful need
Make their nobility a plea for pity!
. . . . . .
When all the ills of conquered states shall cling thee,
Vice without splendor, sin without relief
E'en from the gloss of love to smooth it o'er;
. . . . . .
Meanness and weakness, and a sense of woe,
'Gainst which thou wilt not strive and dar'st not murmur,—
Have made thee last and worse of peopled deserts,
Then, in the last gasp of thine agony,
Amidst thy many murders, think of *mine!*
Thou den of drunkards with the blood of princes!
Gehenna of the waters! thou sea Sodom!
Thus I devote thee to the infernal gods!
Thee and thy serpent seed!"

Marino Faliero: Act V., Scene 3.

as the third century B. C. After a career of more than six hundred years, this ancient capital of Cisalpine Gaul was plundered by the Huns under Attila in 452. At a later period the city became the metropolis of the Goths and the favorite residence of their kings. In 537 Milan was captured by the great Belisarius, and two years later was retaken by the Goths. In the year 774 Charlemagne overcame the Milanese, and took and wore the iron crown. In the course of time Milan became the most wealthy and populous of the Lombard cities. As such it became the head and principal seat of that Italian party which opposed the policy and progress of the Imperial House of Germany. Once and again, in 1158 and 1162, the city was besieged by Frederick Barbarossa, and on the second occasion was taken and almost destroyed. When, in 1176, the victory of Legnano was gained over the Imperialists, Milan was declared a *Free City;* and though the Milanese continued in a nominal way to recognize the suzerainty of the German Emperor, they were virtually independent of his rule.

In the thirteenth century, Milan was greatly retarded in her development by the turmoils of the Ghibellines and the Guelphs. The partisans of the latter were headed by the noble family of the Della Torre, and the former by the Visconti. For three-quarters of a century (1237–1311) the Della Torre retained the ascendency in the political affairs of the city, and were then overthrown by the Ghibellines. From this time Milan began to extend her authority over the surrounding districts and towns of Lombardy, until, in 1395, she became the capital of the Duchy of Milan, under the Duke Giovanni Galeazzo, one of the Visconti. This great family continued in authority until 1447, when the male line became extinct, and was supplanted by Francesco Sforza, the husband of an illegitimate daughter of the late duke. Of him and his House some account will be given in a subsequent chapter of the present Book.



CATHEDRAL OF MILAN.

The beginning of the historic career of the city of GENOA may be set as early as the times of the Roman Republic. It was taken and destroyed by a Carthaginian fleet during

the Second Punic War, but was speedily recovered and rebuilt by the Romans. From the beginning the city was a commercial emporium. From the wharves and harbor the ancient Ligurians sent forth their produce to be exchanged for the wine and oil of other parts of Italy. Under the Empire the city flourished, but, after the coming of the barbarians, declined under the rule of the Gothic kings. Together with the other towns of Northern Italy, Genoa was taken by the Lombards, and from them it was wrested in the eighth century by Charlemagne. The Frankish Emperor placed the authority in the hands of a count under his own suzerainty, and the government was so administered until the dismemberment of the Carlovingian Empire.

During the ninth century, Genoa was deeply involved in the strifes and turmoils to which all the cities of Lombardy were exposed. The Emperors of Germany contended with the Berengarii for the possession of the iron crown, and the Genoese were parties to the struggle. In 936 the city was taken and pillaged by the Saracens, but this catastrophe seemed to arouse the people to renewed enterprise. A navy was built and a league made with Pisa against the common enemy of christendom. In the early part of the eleventh century the Genoese expelled the Mohammedan freebooters from many of the Mediterranean islands. Corsica, Capraja, and Sardinia were successively freed from foreign domination, and the former two were added to Genoa. By this time, however, the extension of Genoese influence had aroused the jealousy of the other republican powers of Northern Italy. Especially was the enmity of Venice and Pisa enkindled against their rival, and they sought by every means in their power to put a limit to her growth and ambitions.

The first serious break with the Pisans occurred in the year 1070. Soon afterwards the Genoese, in common with the other peoples of the West, took fire at the story of Turkish outrages in the Holy Land, and when at the close of the century the summons came to send relief to King Godfrey of Jerusalem, Genoa responded with an armament. Participating for a season in the war with the Infidels, she was rewarded with a strip of the coast of Palestine. She soon became involved in a second conflict with Pisa, and when this was brought to a close an expedition was fitted out against the Moors of Spain. In three successive campaigns (1146–48) the islands of Minorca, Almeria, and Tortoso were subjugated, and from these conquests the Genoese went ashore and set up their banners on the coast of Provence. By the close of the twelfth century they became masters of Monaco, Nice, Montferrat, and Marseilles, and but for the intestine struggles of Italy seemed destined to a still wider dominion. In the year 1162, however, a *third* war broke out with Pisa, and this conflict continued with varying vicissitudes for nearly a hundred years. In this way were the possibilities of Republican Italy wasted in the domestic broils and interminable rivalries of her cities.

At last the Genoese triumphed over the Pisans. In 1284 the latter suffered an irreparable defeat in a great naval battle near Meloria, losing three thousand killed and thirteen thousand prisoners. Afterwards, in 1290, the island of Elba was subjugated and the harbor of Pisa destroyed. This left the rival Republic without the power to renew the conflict, while the Genoese gathered whatever spoils remained to be reaped from a ruined city.

Not less bitter was the rivalry between Genoa and Venice. After the establishment of the Latin Kingdom at Constantinople, in the year 1204, the struggle between the two Republics on the opposite sides of Italy continued almost without abatement. It was the policy of the Venetians to maintain the power which they had assisted the Franks in establishing in the East. This brought the Genoese into alliance with the old Greek dynasty of Constantinoble, and when, in 1261, the reconquest of the Byzantine Empire was undertaken by Michael Palæologus, the fleet of Genoa gave him such material aid that the Western Republic was rewarded with the suburbs of Pera and Galata, and also the port of Smyrna, commanding the Black Sea. The Venetians were little disposed to yield to their rivals the dominion of those Eastern waters. The war between the rival powers continued until 1276, when a truce put a temporary

period to hostilities. Later in the century the conflict broke out anew, and battles were fought at intervals, until at last a great victory was gained by the Genoese over the Venetian fleet, which suffered a loss of eighty-four galleys and seven thousand men, including the doge. In 1299 a treaty of peace was concluded by which it was agreed that Venice should surrender to Genoa the commerce of the Black Sea, together with the colonies and factories which had been planted on the shore of that important water.

The dominion of the Genoese in the East was upheld by the Palæologi. A half century elapsed before the Venetians felt themselves sufficiently recovered to undertake the overthrow of Genoese authority in the Black and Caspian Seas. In 1346, however, the war was renewed, a great battle was fought within sight of Constantinople and the fleet of Genoa was again victorious; but in a second encounter which occurred off the coast of Sardinia the Genoese squadron was almost annihilated. Such was the alarm of the mother city that, in order to avoid the consequences of defeat, she put herself under the protection of the Duke of Milan. Such a relation, however, could not be long maintained, and the Genoese soon threw off the yoke which they had consented to wear. A third war began with Venice, in the year 1377, and continued until 1381, when a permanent treaty was concluded at the city of Turin; and the two republics, shattered by almost interminable conflicts, agreed to pursue their respective ways in peace.

Besides the internal strifes with which Venice and Genoa were afflicted, and the disastrous consequences of war, two other circumstances contributed to the decline of these the leading Italian Republics. The first of these was the continued successes of the Turks in the East, by which the commercial advantages which the Genoese and Venetians had so long and profitably enjoyed, were taken away; and the other was the discovery of new regions in the West which drew the attention of adventurers and merchantmen into distant parts, and reduced by so much the commercial marine of the Republics. With the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, in the year 1453, Genoa was stripped of all her remaining possessions in the East, and to make a finality of her enterprise in that direction, Mohammed II. ordered the entrance to the Black Sea to be closed to Western ships.

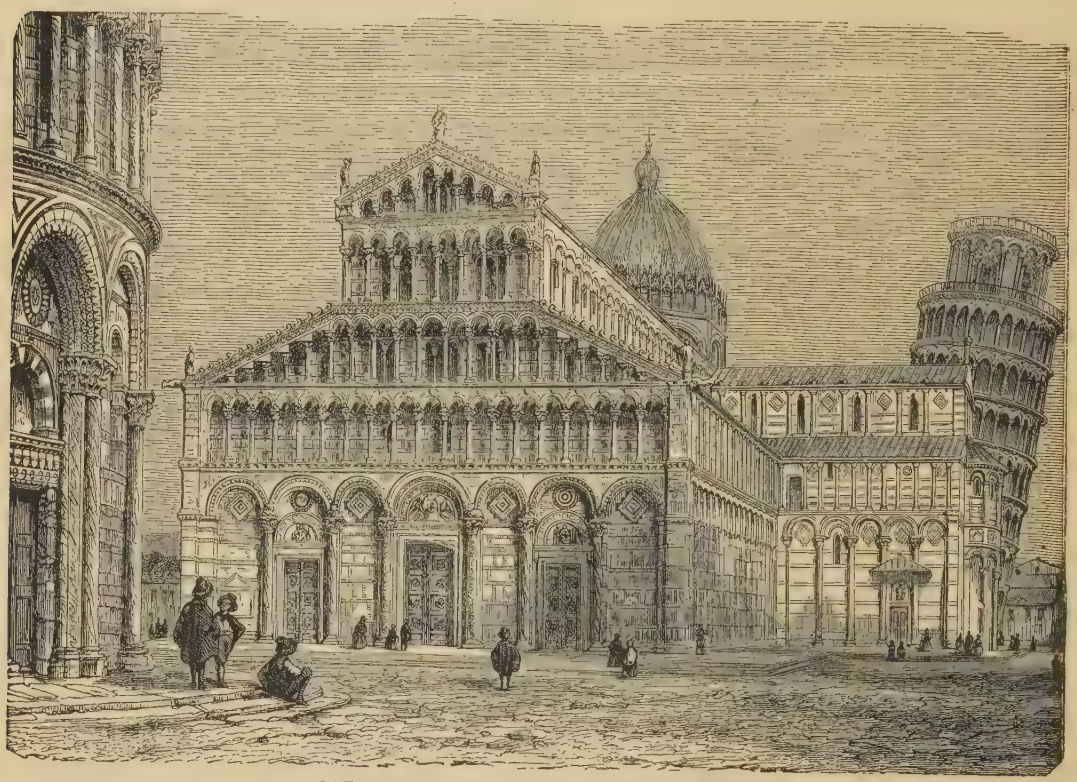
Only second in importance to the republics of Venice and Genoa was the city of Pisa, situated in a plain between the Apennines on the east and the Tuscan Sea on the west. The origin of the city is lost in antiquity. It was founded by the Etruscans before the beginning of authentic histories. It became an integral part of Rome in the second century B. C., but did not attract much attention until long after the downfall of the Western Empire. Pisa shared in common with the other Italian towns the hardships and penalties of the barbarian conquest. In the Middle Ages the Pisans first began to make themselves felt as a political force in Italy, about the middle of the ninth century. Soon afterwards they achieved their independence. Pisa became a free city, and under a republican form of government rapidly sprang forward to a foremost place among the maritime states which bordered the Italian seas.

In the eleventh century the Pisans conquered the Islands of Sardinia, Corsica, and Elba, together with the Balearic Islands and many important districts on the main-land of the coast. At this epoch the republic reached her greatest wealth and renown. In 1063 the Pisan fleet gained a great victory over a Saracen squadron at Palermo, thus clearing the Italian waters of the Mohammedan intruders. Nor is it possible to say to what extent the conquests of the mother city might have been carried but for the breaking out of the ill-starred contest between Pisa and the rival republic of Genoa. The struggle resulted not, indeed, in the extermination of the Pisans and the destruction of their political and commercial ambitions, but in their reduction to a rank greatly inferior to that held by Genoa and Venice.

During the Crusades the Pisans busied themselves in establishing a trade in the Levant, where for a long time they maintained their interests in considerable prosperity. In the wars of the Guelphs and Ghibellines Pisa took sides with the latter, and the Guelphic cities made a league against her. In the beginning of the fourteenth century the

prosperity of the city revived somewhat from the previous depression; but the spirit of party strife hawked at and tore out the vitals of all real progress. Near the close of that century the Pisans became subject to an aristocratic house called the Appiani, and were shortly afterward subjected first to the Visconti of Milan and afterwards to the Florentines.

The fifth of the great free cities was FLORENCE. By the Romans the place was known under the name of Florentia. Tradition has assigned the founding to the dictator Sulla. Florence did not, however, become distinguished as a municipality until the later times of the Empire. In the year 406 it was besieged by the Vandal army under the lead of Radagasius. It will be remembered that the general Stilicho came against the barbarians, defeated them in battle, raised the siege, and put Radagasius to death. During the Gothic invasion Florence was captured and destroyed by Totila. Near the close of the eighth century the city was rebuilt by Charlemagne. Afterwards for nearly two hundred years she progressed in wealth and influence until near the middle of the tenth century, when the people gained the right of electing their own magistrates and became independent. The executive power was lodged in the hands of four consuls; and the legislative authority in a senate of a hundred members. In 1207 the multiple executive was abolished, and a single *podesta* or president was elected. Eight years afterwards the Florentines became involved in the strife between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. After a struggle of thirty-three years, the Guelphic or papal party was overthrown and expelled from the city.



CATHEDRAL OF PISA AND LEANING TOWER.

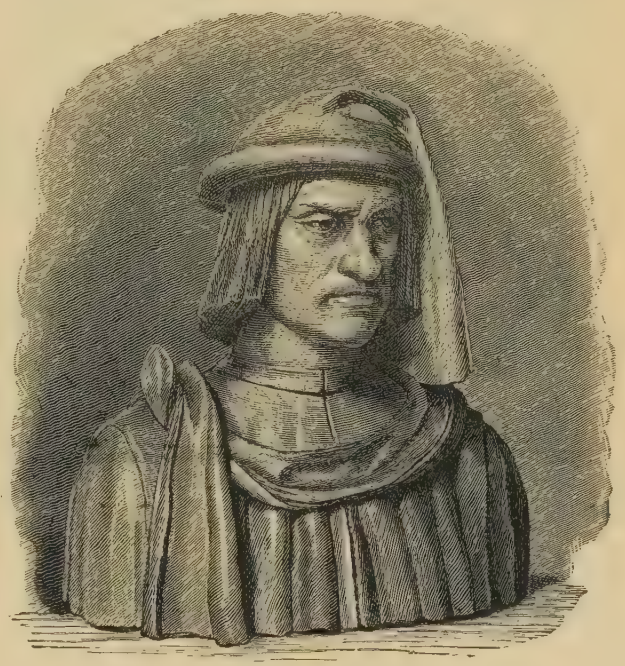
Not long after this political revolution, another convulsion, more important in its results, occurred. The citizens rose against the nobles, attacked and demolished their palaces and villas, and established a democratic government on the ruins of the aristocracy. Instead of the consulate and senate, two chief magistrates, the one styled "captain of the people" and the other *podesta*, were elected, while the legislative power was remanded to general assemblies.

The strifes between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines continued to vex the people of Florence during the greater part of the thir-

DANTE.

teenth century. In the year 1282 the government was again revolutionized, and fortunately for the city the new political forms which were instituted were more stable than those which had preceded them. The Republic continued for several hundred years without undergoing further political upheavals, and notwithstanding the dissensions to which Florence, in common with her sister republics, was troubled, her growth in wealth and population continued without abatement. Her census showed a list of a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, of whom no fewer than twenty-five thousand were armed militia.

The intellectual activity of the Florentines was equal to that of the Venetians, and at an early date in the Middle Ages there were evidences of a revival of letters and art, for which at a subsequent period the city was destined to become the most famous in Italy. At the close of the thirteenth century the illustrious Dante walked about the public places of the city and muttered to himself the dolorous strains of the *Inferno*. The republican form of government in Florence proved favorable to the spread of the new culture. In the fifteenth century the great family of the Medici gained an ascendency in Florentine affairs which resulted in the overthrow of the popular forms of government, but was by no means discouraging to the literary and artistic tendencies of the people. Indeed, it was under the patronage of this family that Florence achieved her greatest glory. The origin of the celebrated House dates back to the age of Charlemagne. In the middle of the fourteenth century Giovanni de Medici commanded his countrymen in a war with Milan; but in this age the greatest of the family were Cosmo and Lorenzo, sons of Giovanni. The House of Medici was at its highest estate from the middle to the close of the fifteenth century, when Lorenzo, surnamed the Magnificent, filled all Europe with his fame. In 1471 he was made treasurer of the Holy See, and was for a season in great favor with the Pope. Afterwards, however, he succeeded in effecting an alliance between Florence, Venice, and Milan, for the express purpose of resisting the encroachments of the papacy.



LORENZO THE MAGNIFICENT.

At this Sixtus IV. became deeply incensed at his foreign minister, and henceforth strove with all his power to break the influence of

the Medici in Italy. The Pope is accused of having instigated a conspiracy for the purpose of procuring the assassination of Lorenzo and his brother Giuliano.

The date of the crime was set for the 26th of April, 1478. It was agreed that on that day, at the signal of the elevation of the Host in the Church of the Reparata, the two brothers should be struck down dead. The head conspirator was Francesco de Pazzi, who was to be assisted by the priests. At the preconcerted signal the villainous attack was made. Giuliano was instantly killed, but Lorenzo defended himself with such valor that his assailants were driven back until he was rescued by his friends. The members of the Pazzi family were seized and punished for their crime. A feud broke out between the papal party and the adherents of the Medici, which continued to agitate the states of Italy until the close of the century. Nor was the ill-feeling of the parties allayed until a member of the family of the Medici, Giovanni, was raised to the papal chair with the title of Leo X.

ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF THE MEDICI.
Drawn by Conrad Ermisch.

Besides the great municipal Republics of Venice, Milan, Genoa, Pisa, and Florence, many other Italian cities ran a similar, though less conspicuous, course of development. To such an extent was this tendency present in

the history of Mediæval Italy that the Feudal System never flourished in the peninsula. The urban activities were too strong to yield to the tyranny of baronial masters. As a general fact it may be said that Feudalism received its death wound, not at the hands of royalty, but rather at the hands of the aspiring democracy of the mediæval cities.

Not only in Italy, but also in France and the provinces of the Rhine, did the towns of the twelfth century achieve their freedom. Not all of the municipalities ran an equally distinguished career, but all passed through a like vicissitude of struggle with the baronial lords. Among the principal French cities of this epoch may be mentioned Rheims, Beauvais, Leon, Noyon, and Vezalay, the last of which, under the leadership of her abbot, sustained a long and obstinate contest, involving a demolition of a large part of her fortifications and houses.

But the limits of these pages forbid a further extended notice of the free cities of France and Germany. Suffice it to say that in these democratic municipalities the spirit of political liberty was fostered and a great citizenship established which, after five centuries of alternate repression and growth, was destined to rise up like the sea and make the European monarchs tremble in their capitols.

In succeeding chapters of the present Book it shall be the purpose to give an account of the development of this popular political society, of its union with the kings, and the gradual extinction of Feudalism under the combined pressure of these two forces in society. Let us, then, resume the narrative which was broken off with the recapture of Acre by the Moslems, and trace the history of France from that epoch down to the close of the fifteenth century, at which time the discovery of the New World changed the direction of the activities and diverted the ambitions of mankind.

CHAPTER XCV.—FRANCE IN FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

THE transfer of the crown of France from the head of Philip III. to that of his son, PHILIP IV., surnamed the Fair, was not fortunate for the kingdom. The latter sovereign was more noted for beauty of person than for graces of head or heart. Nor was his naturally perverse disposition in any wise improved by his marriage with Jane of Navarre, whose rank was much better than her character.

A few years after the accession of the new sovereign the kingdom became involved in a war with England. The circumstances which gave rise to this conflict are highly illustrative of the spirit of the age. In 1292 two sailors, a Norman and an Englishman, quarreled and fought on the wharf of Bayonne. Finally the Englishman stabbed his antagonist. Under the imperfect law procedures of the age there was a failure to bring the criminal to justice. Thereupon the Normans made application to Philip III. for redress; but that monarch replied by telling them to take their own revenge. They did not hesitate to follow the suggestion of the king, but put to sea, seizing all the English ships which they could overtake and hanging the crews at the mast-heads.

The British sailors did not even take the pains to apply to the home government for the punishment of these outrages, but retaliated fearfully upon the enemy. A fleet of two hundred Norman ships then sailed into the English seas, and the war continued with every circumstance of atrocity. It was not long until an English squadron, superior to that of the enemy, fell upon the Normans and destroyed fifteen thousand sailors. War was then formally declared between the two nations, and the struggle resulted in stripping the English of the province of Aquitaine.

which was held by the French until the treaty of peace in 1303.

Soon after these events the French king turned his attention to the province of Flanders, which was at this time under the government of Guy Dampierre, a Crusader who had accompanied Saint Louis to Palestine. Philip, with his usual subtlety, corrupted the Flemings with bribes and other incentives until they renounced the government of their lawful earl. In order to secure assistance abroad Dampierre now offered his daughter, the Princess Philippa, to Edward, prince of Wales; but Philip set himself to the task of defeating the marriage. Accordingly, with extreme bad faith, he invited Earl Guy and his wife and daughter to Paris, where, as soon as they arrived, they were seized by the king and thrown into prison. After a year the earl and his wife were set at liberty, but Philippa was detained as a captive. Notwithstanding the efforts of Dampierre, assisted by the king of England and the Pope, Philip would not loosen his perfidious grip on the innocent heiress of Flanders. Angered at this flagrant treachery, a league was formed by the English king, the German Emperor, and the Pope for the purpose of compelling Philip to do the act of justice with the Earl of Flanders. But the French king bribed some of his enemies and seduced others with blandishments until the alliance against him was broken up. King Henry of England was bought off with the Princess Margaret, sister of Philip, and the Prince of Wales with his daughter Isabella. Having thus quieted all his enemies except the Flemings, the French sovereign prepared to subdue them by force, and to this end all trials by combat, private wars, and tournaments were forbidden by an edict until the king's business should be finished.

In 1299 a French army, led by Charles of Valois, entered Flanders. The city of Ghent was besieged, and the Flemish earl, finding himself hard pressed, determined to plead his own cause with the king at Paris. He was accordingly conducted thither under a pledge of safety given by the Count of Valois. But on reaching the French capital Philip disdained the promise given by his brother, and seizing upon Earl Guy and his sons, threw them into prison. With a better sense of honor than was to be expected in the Capetian princes of the fourteenth century, Charles of Valois protested against the king's bad faith, and when his protest proved of no avail, he quitted his brother's service, and, going to Italy, enlisted under the banners of the Pope.

The perfidy of Philip seemed to secure for him the possession of Flanders. The Flemish towns were garrisoned with French soldiers, and Chatillon was appointed to the governorship. One of the means employed by the king to induce the Flemings to accept his domination was the promise of exemption from taxation. But the monarch soon showed himself as little capable of keeping his own pledge as he had been of observing that made by the Count of Valois. As soon as the people of Flanders found themselves oppressed with grievous exactions, they rose in revolt and did away with their oppressors in a general massacre.

When the intelligence of this insurrection was borne to Philip, he immediately organized an army of fifty thousand men, mostly veterans, and intrusting the command to Robert of Artois, one of the leading men of the century, dispatched this great force to destroy the insurgents. But the event little corresponded with the French king's expectations; for, although the Flemings were poorly disciplined and worse armed, they met the powerful army of France and defeated it in a decisive battle near Courtray. The Count of Artois and his son were slain in the battle, and the bodies of four thousand French knights and noblemen were despoiled on the field.

The chief virtue of Philip the Fair was his courage. Undaunted by the great reverse which had overtaken his arms, he reörganized his forces in overwhelming numbers, reëntered Flanders in 1304, and gained a great victory. About the same time the Flemish fleet was defeated, and the people were brought to desperation by the condition of their affairs. Their spirit, however, was equal to the occasion. The inhabitants rose with the courage of heroes and the fury of patriots. Marching in a great body, armed with such weapons as they could snatch, they suddenly appeared before the camp of Philip, who was engaged in the siege of Lisle, and demanded of him that he

should either come forth to battle or grant them an honorable peace. The king preferred the latter alternative, and conceded to the insurgent population better terms than would have been granted but for the wholesome fear with which the Flemish multitude had inspired him.

The old Earl Guy was now set at liberty, but his race was already run. Soon after his return to Flanders it was deemed expedient that he should go back to Paris to complete the unfinished treaty of peace. While absent on this mission he died, and was succeeded in the Flemish earldom by his son Robert de Bethune. The inhabitants of the province had by this time discovered that nothing was to be expected from Philip, and were glad to be at peace under one of their own princes.

BATTLE OF COURTRAY.

In the mean time the king of France had become involved in a quarrel with Pope Boniface VIII. This pontiff had in 1295 interfered to prevent a war between France and England, and had gone so far as to command Philip to make a treaty with King Edward. The haughty tone of the papal mandate gave mortal offense to the French king, who responded in an equally imperious, not to say insolent, manner. From a sort of armed neutrality the enmity between Philip and Boniface increased in bitterness until each descended to vulgarity. The Pope called the king a fool, and the king called the Pope a heretic and magician—the most fearful of all epithets in mediæval ears.

At last the violence of words gave place to the violence of action. Philip determined that the Holy Father should attend a council which had been called at Lyons. In order to secure this end he sent a body of picked troops into Italy with orders to bring the Pope, *nolens volens*, into France. This band of soldiers, led by a certain Norgaret, made their way to Anagnia, the native town of Boniface, where the pontiff was then residing. Italy was at this time in a partisan broil, the great family of the Colonnæ having arrayed themselves against the Pope and virtually driven him into retirement. This fact gave a

great advantage to Norgaret and his band, who were accompanied to Anagnia by one of the Colonnæ, ready for any desperate enterprise. The people of the town were bribed to admit the invaders, and they found little difficulty in gaining possession of the person of Boniface.

BONIFACE STRUCK BY COLONNA.
Drawn by Vierge.

The intemperate anger of Colonna could not be restrained. He struck the Pope a violent blow in the face. The news spread through the town that the sovereign of the Church was bleeding from a vile assault which had been made upon him by his enemies. An insurrection broke out, in which Boniface was rescued from the French and the latter expelled from Anagnia.

The haughty spirit of the Pope could not recover from the horrid outrage which he had suffered. He fell into a violent fever and went mad, raving at all who approached him, and gnawing off his own fingers in the struggle of death. Thus in the year 1303 the papal throne was vacated, to be presently refilled by the more benign and equable tempered Benedict XI. The pontificate of the latter, however, was destined to be of short duration. After a few months spent in a seemingly vain endeavor to heal the dissensions of his times, he died, and was succeeded by Bertrand de Got, who took the title of Clement V.

The new pontiff was a native of Gascony, which was at that time an appanage of the English Crown. De Got, however, was essentially French in his sympathies and character. He was an admirer and partisan of Philip the Fair, and after his elevation to the chair of St. Peter was induced by the king of France to transfer the seat of the papacy from Rome to Avignon. Even the coronation of the Pope was performed at Lyons, but this audacious innovation came near to putting

a limit to the earthly ambitions of all the participants. After the ceremony was completed, while the newly crowned Pope, accompanied by the king and many of the chief nobles of France, was returning from the cathedral of Lyons, an old wall by which the procession was passing toppled from its base and came down upon them with a crash. The Duke of Brittany and many others were killed. The Pope, the king, and Charles of Valois were all injured, but escaped alive. The incident was noised abroad and produced great consternation; for the age still groveled in superstition, and attributed a natural catastrophe to the anger of offended Heaven.

BURNING OF JAQUES DE MOLAY.

Scarcely had this ill-omened settlement of the papacy been effected when the king and the Pope, *par nobile fratrum*, undertook the extermination of the Knights Templars. Philip was in the habit of meeting Clement privately in the wood of Avignon, and there the conspiracy against the Order of the Temple was perfected. It was agreed that the Grand Master De Molay and the leading knights of christendom should be summoned to Paris to answer for their alleged crimes against the Church and the political society of Europe. The Grand Master and sixty members of the distinguished Order answered the summons, and on arriving at the French capital were thrown into prison. In the Middle Ages the innocence of the accused amounted to little in the predetermined counsels of despotism. Fifty-seven of the knights, after being submitted to the mockery of a trial, were condemned and burned alive. De Molay and three of his companions were remanded to prison, but were afterwards inveigled into signing a confession of guilt. They were thereupon condemned to imprisonment for life; but when they were placed upon a scaffold to hear their confession read to the people, De Molay in a loud voice thundered forth his denunciation against the fraud which had been practiced against himself and his fellows. Philip thereupon ordered the prisoners to be at once disposed of by burn-

ing. De Molay and his companions died as they had lived, without a fear. From the midst of the flames the undaunted Grand Master denounced the crime of the king and the Pope, and summoned them both to meet him in a brief period at the bar of an avenging God. Thus, in the year 1314, after a career of nearly two centuries, the treacherous death-wound was dealt to the Order of the Knights of the Temple.

The voice of De Molay, half-smothered in the smoke, followed Philip to an early doom. In the same year of the execution of his victims he was hunting in the wood of Fontainebleau when his horse fell with him, inflicting a fatal injury. He lingered for a brief period and died, being then in the twenty-ninth year of his reign.

The most important civil fact in the reign of Philip the Fair was the ascendency which the crown at this epoch began to gain over the feudal nobles. In the year 1302 the States-general were convened at Paris. This great body was composed of three classes of persons: first, the Clergy; second, the Nobility; and, third, the *Tiers État*, or Third Estate. The representatives of the latter class were now for the first time admitted to a seat in the great assembly of France—a fact which showed conclusively the purpose of the king to employ the *People* as an element in his administrative system, and to use them in the work of repressing the feudal lords.

The measure thus inaugurated of resting the throne of France upon the States-general became popular with the kings of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Many meetings of the national assembly were held, and questions of the gravest moment freely debated by the body. Not until the year 1614 did the French monarchs cease to avail themselves of the power of the nation in matters of government. From that date, however, until the outbreak of the Revolution of 1789, the States-general were not convened, and this fact, more perhaps than any other, retarded the political development of France.

On the death of Philip the Fair, in 1314, the crown of the kingdom descended to his son, Louis X., surnamed the Fretful. The prince was at this time twenty-six years of age, but was immature, restless, and avaricious. The real management of affairs was intrusted to the young king's uncle, Charles of Valois, who succeeded in ousting from the government and destroying De Marigny, who had been prime minister under Philip. Marigny was ignominiously put to death, but public opinion afterwards forced Charles of Valois to make reparation, as far as possible, by restoring the estates of the executed minister to his children.

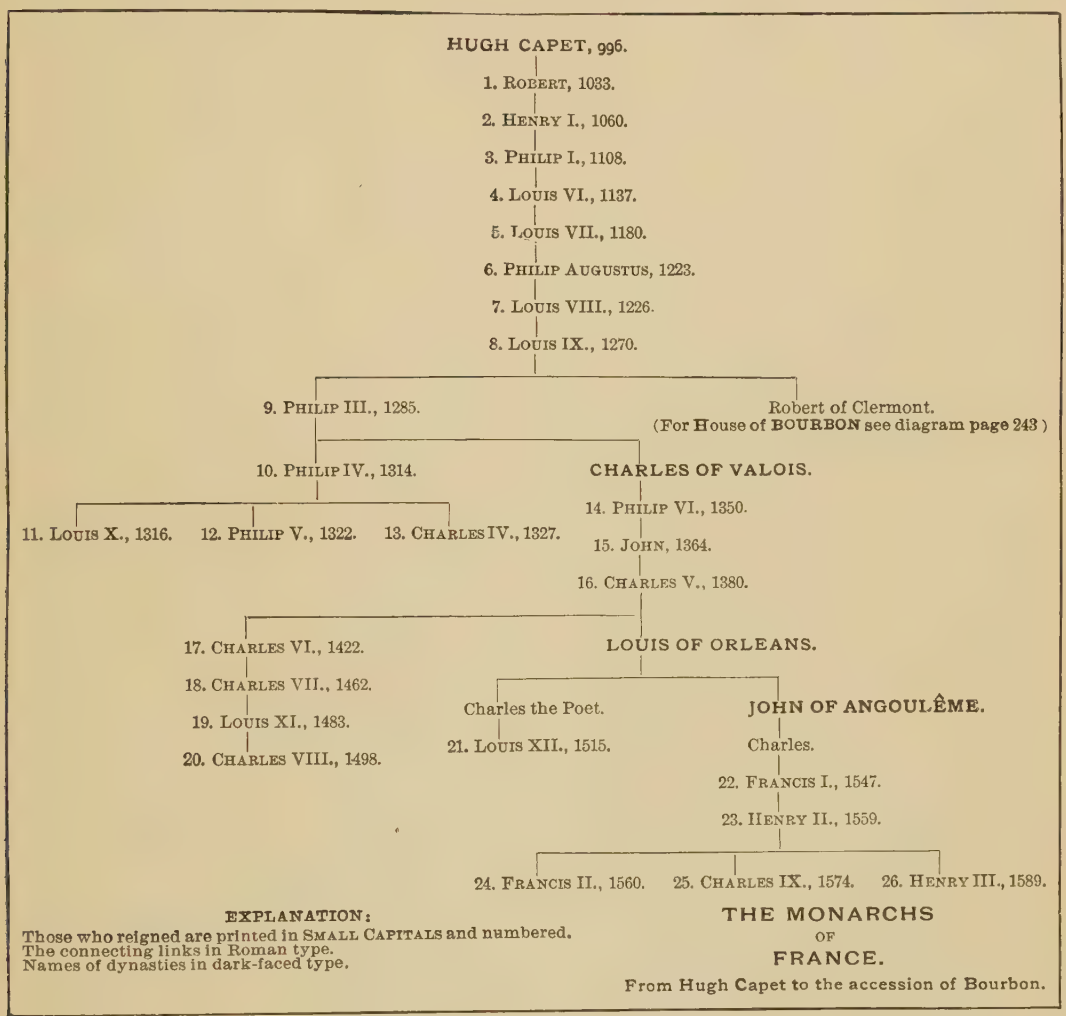
One of the first measures of the new administration was the renewal of the war with Flanders. The king was chagrined to find that the treasures of the kingdom had been exhausted by his father. In order to raise new armies it was necessary to replenish the exhausted coffers of the royal treasury. To accomplish this result Louis adopted the novel and radical plan of emancipating the serfs of France, each freedman to pay a certain sum as the price of his liberation from serfdom. The scheme was not less striking in its conception than unsuccessful in its execution; for the vassal peasants of France, after the manner of the slave class of almost all countries, ancient and modern, preferred their money to their freedom. Seeing his plan about to fail, the king added another edict, by which the serfs were *compelled* to go free for the stipulated price.

By this means Louis succeeded in refilling his treasury, and was enabled to raise and equip an army. In 1316 he advanced into Flanders and laid siege to Courtray. At this juncture nature came to the rescue of the Flemings by pouring down upon the royal camp such floods of rain as made the prosecution of the siege impossible. The king was obliged, in order to escape from the floods, to destroy his baggage and return over almost impassable roads to his own kingdom. He did not long survive his ill-starred expedition. In the following year he fell sick and died from the effects of an excessive draught of cold water, which he took when overheated, after a game of tennis in which he had been taking part in the wood of Vincennes.

This sudden demise of their sovereign greatly embarrassed the ministers of the kingdom, and a regency was appointed during the minority of the boy Prince Louis, son of the deceased king. Nor was it long until the royal scion died, leaving his sister Jane to

claim the throne of their father. This, however, was forbidden by the Salic law of France, by which no woman might wear the crown. The parliament confirmed the law against the protests of the Duke of Burgundy and the Count of Evreux, who supported the claims of the princess. Such was the complication of affairs that a diversion was easily made in favor of Philip, brother of the late king. The Princess Jane was married to the Count of Evreux's eldest son, and Philip ascended the throne with the title of PHILIP V.

The new reign was of six years' duration, extending from 1316 to 1322. The period was one of great turbulence and disorder. It appears that the king was sincerely anxious to govern well and restore quiet to France; nor were his abilities of an inferior order. But the deplorable condition of the Church, the rivalries and quarrels of the nobles, and the licentiousness of the age prevented the good results which might otherwise have flowed from a comparatively virtuous reign. Several measures promoted by the king were worthy of a more enlightened epoch. He undertook the reformation of the weights and measures and monetary standard of the kingdom; but before the good which he purposed could be accomplished he died at his castle in Vincennes, in 1322. His son Louis had already died in infancy, and his four daughters were excluded from the throne by the same law which had enabled him to reach it. A second time, therefore, the crown of France descended laterally, and rested on the head of CHARLES IV., brother of the deceased king.



The new sovereign, surnamed the Fair, ascended the throne without opposition, but like his predecessor was destined to a brief, and by no means glorious, reign. One of his first acts was characteristic of the Middle Ages no less than of his own personal character. What the Jews were to the monetary affairs of Europe in the eighteenth century, that were the Lombard bankers to the fourteenth. They controlled the finances of the age and acquired that ascendency which has always belonged to the money lenders of the world. Charles conceived the design of possessing himself of the immense treasures accumulated by the Lombards. He accordingly instituted measures against them, expelled them from the kingdom, and confiscated their riches.

It was at this time that a conspiracy was hatched in Paris for the overthrow of King Edward II. of England. That sovereign had taken in marriage the Princess Isabella, sister of the French king. The latter still exacted homage of the English monarch for the province of Guienne, which was held as a dependency of the French crown. Charles demanded that Edward should come to Paris and perform the act of vassalage; but it was agreed that Queen Isabella might do this act in her husband's stead. It appears that the queen was tired of her weak and irresolute lord, and was willing to see the crown of England transferred to the head of another. She accordingly managed to have her son, the Prince of Wales, accompany her to the French capital. While in that metropolis she gathered about her a company of malcontent noblemen from her husband's kingdom, made a favorite of Roger Mortimer, and with him contrived a plot for the deposition of Edward. It happened, however, that when the conspirators made known their purpose to Charles IV., that monarch, for reasons of state policy, disapproved the whole proceedings and ordered his sister to leave the kingdom. The further course of this conspiracy will be narrated in a subsequent chapter.

After a reign of nearly six years, Charles IV. died. Though three times married, he left no son to succeed him. His two daughters, Maria and Blanche, were set aside according to the Salic law, and the elder branch of the House of Capet became extinct. The younger of the late king's daughters was not born until after his death, and during this interval of expectancy a regency was appointed. But when the wish of the kingdom was disappointed in the sex of the posthumous heir to the crown, a transfer of the scepter to the House of Valois was resolved on as the best means of preserving the legitimacy of the kingdom. The choice of a new sovereign fell upon the regent Philip, son of Charles of Valois and cousin of the late king. This choice was confirmed by a vote of the peers and the States-general of France, and the new king was crowned in the cathedral of Rheims.

His title was PHILIP VI., and his surname the Fortunate. In France there was little opposition to the change of dynasty. It happened, however, that a claim to the French crown was raised abroad which proved a serious menace to the House of Valois. Edward, prince of Wales, son of Queen Isabella, had now come to the throne of England, and he and his partisans advanced the theory that, though his mother might not herself, under the Salic law of France, inherit the crown of the kingdom, she might nevertheless *transmit* such inheritance to her son. This new principle of descent was not devoid of plausibility, and, if admitted, would of course exclude the Valois princes in favor of King Edward. The latter monarch had a lofty ambition and great abilities. Without announcing his intentions, he secretly cherished the design of uniting under his own rule the crowns of Capet and Plantagenet.

Not deeming the time yet come to advance his claim openly to the sovereignty of France, Edward concealed his purpose and did homage to Philip for the province of Guienne. But he took pains from the first to lay plans secretly and to make preparations for the fulfillment of his hopes. He collected munitions of war and made an alliance with the Duke of Brittany. He instigated the Flemings to revolt against the government of Bertrand de Bethune, and brought them over to the English interest.

After years spent in these preparatory measures, King Edward deemed himself sufficiently strong to undertake openly what he had thus far pursued under covert. Accordingly, in 1336, he threw off the mask and in-

duced the Flemings to proclaim him king of France. He put the *fleur-de-lis* on his banner and assumed the other emblems of royalty belonging to the House of Capet. Armies were raised and fleets equipped for the conflict which was to try the fortunes of the rival kings.

SECOND BATTLE OF BOUVINES, 1340.
Drawn by A. de Neuville

The war which ensued was waged at first on the sea. A French fleet entered the English Channel, and for a while swept off all that opposed its progress. At length, however, King Edward's squadron put to sea and encountered the French off Sluys. Here a terrible naval battle was fought, in which the armament of France was well-nigh destroyed.

On the land the war was prosecuted without decisive results. The principal battle which occurred during the contest was fought on the old field of Bouvines, where, a hundred and twenty-six years before, Philip Augustus had gained his great victory over Otho IV. of Germany. Now, in 1340, Philip encountered and defeated an army of English ten thousand strong, and permanently checked the invasion of his kingdom.

After continuing for six years, the conflict was suspended by a truce. But the settlement was treacherous on the part of the French. Philip, with assumed gladness, proclaimed a tournament at Paris, and invited the nobles of the kingdom to participate. Among the rest, several lords of Brittany attended; but they, being under suspicion of disloyalty, were at once seized, condemned without a trial, and beheaded. The act was as rash as it was revengeful. The barons of the realm were deeply offended at the murder of the Breton nobles, and Edward III. found abundant occasion for renewing the war.

The English army crossed the channel in two divisions. The first, numbering forty thousand men and led by the king in person, invaded Normandy; and the second, under command of Earl Derby, entered the province of Guienne. So vigorous were Edward's movements that he penetrated the country almost to Paris before the French were prepared to oppose his further progress. Seeing the impossibility of effecting the conquest of the kingdom with so small a force, the English king challenged Philip to mortal combat, but the House of Valois was not disposed to jeopard its rights by such a hazard. Edward then withdrew in the direction of Flanders, and was presently pursued by the French army in overwhelming numbers.

Philip's anger at the audacious invasion of his kingdom far exceeded his discretion. He pressed upon the English without caution, over-confident of an easy victory. Edward fell back to the mouth of the Somme, forced his way across the river, and pitched his camp in the plain of CRECY. Here, on the 26th of August, 1346, he was attacked by Philip at the head of the army of France.

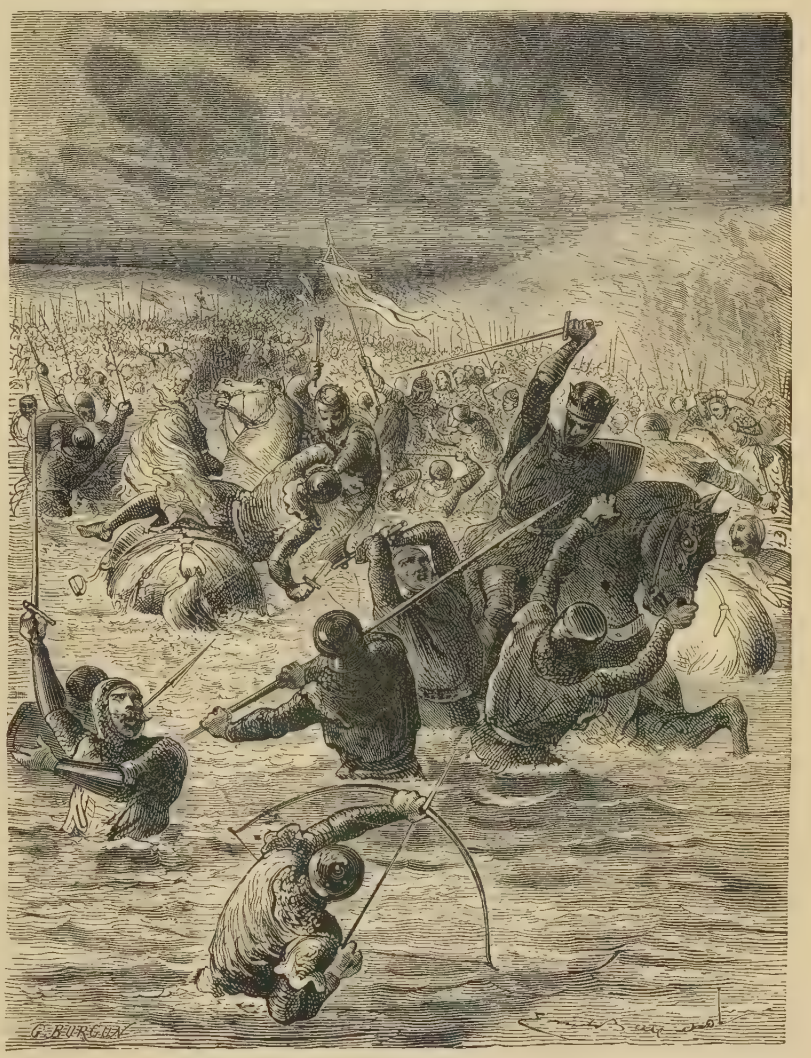
Such had been the impetuosity of the French advance that Philip's soldiers, on coming upon the battle-field, were panting from their rapid march. On the other hand, the English yeomanry were fresh and vigorous from a night's rest, and quietly awaited the onset. The conflict that ensued was the greatest and most decisive which had occurred in the history of the two kingdoms since the day of Hastings. On the side of the French the battle was begun by the Genoese archers, to whom, though mercenaries, the king had assigned the post of honor. Perceiving this, the Duke of Alençon, brother of Philip, offended at the prominence given to foreign auxiliaries, threw forward his horsemen and undertook to displace the Genoese from their position. It thus happened that before a single blow fell upon the English the soldiers of Philip came to a conflict among themselves. At this juncture a drenching rain came down, and the excited Genoese neglected to keep their bowstrings dry, while the English deliberately put their bows in their cases and saved them from injury. When the battle was at length renewed, and the disordered French host, fully sufficient in numbers to have surrounded the army of Edward, pressed forward in irregular masses to the charge, the result was such as might have been inferred from the premises. The French were repulsed and routed in every part of the field. Fighting without reason or proper military command, they were hewed down in heaps. The Duke of Alençon paid for his rashness with his life. Horse and rider were crushed together in the horrid overthrow. Of Philip's soldiers, forty thousand were left dead on the field, and it was estimated that as many more perished in the flight and pursuit.

King Philip, flying from the bloody plain of Crecy, sought refuge in a neighboring town, and afterwards made his way back to Paris. The victorious Edward left the scene of his triumph and proceeded to lay siege to Calais. Here he was detained for eleven months, but

was at last successful. Soon afterwards the plague broke out, and such were its ravages that neither monarch was disposed to continue the conflict. Peace was accordingly made between the two kingdoms on terms favorable to England. Calais and several conquests made by the Earl of Derby in Guienne were retained by Edward as the fruits of his French invasion.

Philip did not long survive the humiliation of his defeat at Crecy. After a reign of twenty-two years he died in 1350, and was succeeded by his son JOHN, duke of Normandy.

The new king, already in his fortieth year, had a great reputation as a soldier and general. His qualities as an able warrior promised well for the kingdom; for the age was turbulent and rebellious, and the shadow of the sword was generally more effective than the shadow of the Constitution. King John obtained the surname of the Good, though such a title was hardly justified, in view of his impetuous and vindictive temper.



THE ENGLISH CROSSING THE SOMME.

In the beginning of his reign the king showed himself capable of injustice and cruelty. At this time the constable of France was the Count D'Eu, who was as able and honorable as the standard of his age. On a naked suspicion that his officer had been in correspondence with the English, King John ordered him and some of his associate nobles to be seized and executed. This offense against justice and humanity was heightened by the disposition which was made of the vacant office. One of the king's favorites was made constable, with the title of Earl of Angoulême. The appointment gave mortal offense to Charles, king of Navarre, who at this time held the same relations to the French crown as did Edward III. of England. For Charles of Navarre was the son of that Princess Jane who, as the daughter of Louis X., had been excluded from the succession by the Salic law of France. He thus had the same reasons as King Edward for aspiring to the Capetian crown.

When, therefore, Charles saw even the office of constable thrown to another, he was raised in his jealous rage to the white heat of

murder. Taking little pains to conceal his purpose, he gave orders to some of his tools to assassinate the new constable, and the bloody mandate was carried out to the letter. The king would fain have punished the deed according to the deserts of the criminal; but the

BATTLE OF CRECY.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

powerful Charles was a dangerous animal in the kingdom of the beasts. Accordingly King John undertook to accomplish by subtlety what should have been done by the open and honorable processes of law. A great tournament was proclaimed at Rouen in 1356, and Charles of Navarre, who had acquired the surname of the Bad, was invited to attend. While lodging in a castle at this city he was seized, with his followers, by the king's retainers, and imprisoned in the Chateâu Gaillard.

In the same year with this event, the truce between England and France expired, and the imprisonment of the king of Navarre gave a pretext to Edward III. for renewing the war. That monarch had already invested his son, surnamed the Black Prince, with the duchy of Guienne. The duke proved to be one of the ablest and most courageous of the Plantagenets. Acting, perhaps, under the suggestion of his father, he found vent for his ambitions by an invasion of the territories of King John. The latter was in no mood to be trifled with, and raising an immense army, marched against the intruder, bent on his destruction. It appears that the Black Prince had not expected the storm which he had provoked. At any rate, he sought to escape from his peril by offering to capitulate on condition that John would grant him and his army such honorable terms as one army might concede to another. But the angry French monarch would hear to nothing short of a surrender at discretion. This was precisely the emergency best calculated to make a lion's whelp out of every soldier under the banner of St. George. The Black Prince made no further offer of surrender, but prepared to defend himself to the last.

The English army pitched its camp on a small plain near the famous field of POITIERS. On three sides of the encampment were vineyards and hedges. To the defense thus afforded Edward added ditches and earthworks, and having thus prepared to receive the enemy, he awaited the onset. The French king was as eager to begin the battle as his father had been at Crecy; but the Cardinal Perigord, legate of Innocent VI., undertook to prevent the disgrace of a battle between Christian princes. For a whole day he was indefatigable in riding back and forth between the French and the English camp. But King John was angry and stubborn; nor did it appear that the Black Prince was any longer overanxious to avoid a battle. The prelate's good offices, therefore, came to naught, and on the following morning the two armies made ready for battle. In the three divisions which composed the French forces were nearly all the members of the royal family. Four sons of the king—namely, the Dauphin, the Duke of Anjou, the Duke of Berri, and the Prince Philip—commanded in different parts of the field; and to these were added the Duke of Orleans, who was second to the king.

In the beginning of the battle, a troop of horsemen who led the charge, attempting to break through the hedges on the English flank, were thrown into confusion and repulsed. Their retreat spread an unwarranted panic through the French army, and two divisions gave way without even striking a blow. The division of King John, however, stood fast, and the battle began in earnest. That part of the French army which participated in the conflict still outnumbered the English, and the king's personal valor, as well as that of Prince Philip, who fought by his side, for some time kept the battle in equipoise. At length, however, the French broke into disordered masses and began to fly from the field. The king found himself and his son surrounded by the enemy. Seeing that he must be taken, he bravely defended himself for a brief period and then surrendered to the Count de Morbec, a renegade knight of Artois, whom he chanced to recognize among his assailants. But the English soldiers were little disposed to recognize the claim of the recreant Frenchman to so grand a prize. A dispute arose over the prisoners and violence was about to decide the quarrel, when the Earl of Warwick came on the scene and led away the captives to the Black Prince's tent.

Whatever chivalry the English character possessed was brought into requisition in the treatment accorded the captives. Nor did Prince Edward show himself deficient in the best virtues of his age. He treated the fallen royalty with every mark of respect, conducted the crestfallen king and his son to Bordeaux, and thence to England. Here John and the Prince Philip were received with whatever

favor might be shown to captives, and were detained by their captors as guests rather than as prisoners for a period of four years.

When it was known that the king was taken, the government of the realm was conferred on the Dauphin. This prince, though

CAPTURE OF JOHN II. AT POITIERS.
Drawn by A. de Neuville

not wanting in large native abilities, was without the experience necessary to the ruler of such a kingdom as France in times of such emergency. Nor were the counselors who surrounded him more fit to guide the ship of state through the tempestuous sea. Beset with many difficulties, the Dauphin adopted plans which he could not execute, and made promises which he could not fulfill. The distress of the kingdom became extreme, and the distraction of the realm was augmented by the conduct of the nobles, who, utterly indifferent to the general welfare, sought each in his own way to build anew the fortunes of Feudalism on the ruins of the monarchy. Great were the cruelties which the unprincipled barons practiced upon the serfs and peasants of France.

It happened, however, under the changed and changing spirit of the age that the new fact called the PEOPLE was no longer to be ignored—no longer to be trodden under the heel of oppression with impunity. The inhabitants of Beauvois rose in revolt against their would-be masters, and arming themselves with what weapons soever they could snatch turned furiously upon the nobles of the province. They gathered in great numbers and began a vindictive massacre of all who opposed their progress. Houses were burned, castles pillaged, noblemen stabbed to death with pitchforks, and a reign of terror begun in all that district of country. The insurrection made such headway that the Dauphin was unable to stay its course. A general alarm spread throughout the kingdom and all the upper classes of society felt the imminent necessity of banding together against the JACQUERIE—for such is the name by which the revolt is known—and both French and English united their forces to put down the insurgents. The king of Navarre made his escape from prison and lent his services to the Dauphin in the common cause. At length the insurrection was suppressed, but not until a large district of country had been wasted and thousands of lives sacrificed by the infuriated peasants.

Charles of Navarre now laid aside the rôle of the unselfish patriot and renewed his claim to the crown of France. A popular leader, named Marcel, appeared in Paris, and after a show of impartiality espoused the cause of the king of Navarre. He succeeded in winning over to his side a majority of the Parisians, and although the Dauphin was formally appointed to the regency of the kingdom his authority in the capital was subverted.

In the provinces, however, the Dauphin continued in the ascendant. The war that ensued was rather a war of words and recriminations than of violence and bloodshed. By and by the regent, overborne by the insults and opprobium of his enemies, sought refuge from his troubles by flying from Paris.

In the course of time it appeared that Marcel was a traitor as well as a rebel. Having become dissatisfied with the king of Navarre, he conceived the design of betraying both him and the Dauphin to the English. In the course of his secret maneuvers, however, his designs were discovered; a tumult broke out in the city, and Marcel was slain. The event showed that he had been the main support of the cause of Charles of Navarre. The influence of the latter rapidly declined after the death of his henchman. The French rallied to the cause of the Dauphin, and in the Summer of 1358 he regained possession of the capital.

Charles of Navarre was not to be turned from his ambitions. After a season of reverses he recovered himself and returned to the conflict. He laid siege to Paris, cut off the supply of water, captured the provision trains, took an oath that he would make peace with the Dauphin never, and then—made peace with the Dauphin! For after bringing the city to the brink of starvation and compelling the Valois princes to take up their quarters in the same tent with ruin, Charles, for some inexplicable reason, changed his purpose, renounced his oath, left the city in peace, and disclaimed all right and pretense of right to the crown of France.

King John still remained a state prisoner in England. The Dauphin now found himself free to undertake his father's release. But Edward III., feeling himself master of the situation, would grant no terms which did not compromise the nationality of France. Such terms the peers and States-general could not and would not accept. The year 1359 was spent in negotiations amounting to

nothing. At length the English king determined to *enforce* compliance with his demands by an invasion of his captive's kingdom. With a large army he crossed the Channel and began an unresisted march on Paris.

The Dauphin had now grown in years and gained some wisdom. He shut himself up in the capital and refused to give the English battle. The latter encamped before the city and hooted their vain insults at the walls. After this style of siege had continued for a brief season Edward broke up his camp and advanced in the direction of Chartres. He still thought that the French would at length expose themselves in open fight, but in this he mistook the enemy. Time and again the Dauphin renewed the negotiations, and time and again King Edward demanded impossible concessions. At length he came to the town of Bretigny, near Chartres, and there encamped, with no discoverable purpose except to enjoy himself in the enemy's kingdom.

Nature now came to the rescue of the French. While the English lay at Bretigny a storm arose the like of which had not been known since the days of the Merovingians. Tradition has preserved a fabulous account of the hailstones which pounded the English camp into the mire. It is recorded that six thousand horses were killed in the tempest. Many of the soldiers were beaten down never to rise. Without reflecting that the French were as severely punished as himself—that their vineyards were torn to pieces and their fields ruined—Edward perceived in the catastrophe only the wrath of heaven against himself. He at once inclined his ear to the suggestion of peace. The Dauphin made the best use of the changed mood of his adversary, and the conditions of a settlement were soon determined.

It was agreed that King John should be set at liberty, and that his three sons, together with the Duke of Orleans, should be held as hostages by the English king; that Edward should receive three millions of crowns as a ransom for his royal prisoner; that he should renounce forever his pretensions to the French crown, but retain Calais and the recent conquests made by the Black Prince in Guienne.

As soon as the treaty had been properly ratified King John was liberated and returned to his own kingdom. Great was the rejoicing of the French, particularly of the Parisians, on beholding their sovereign. It was as though they had again received him from the dead. The French nature, forgetting its injuries and resentment in its exultation, broke forth with every demonstration of enthusiasm. As for King John himself, he seems to have been sobered and turned to religious moods during his imprisonment. At any rate, he at once gave forth his attention of leading a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land from the Turks. The project was the crowning anachronism of the age. It required a fond and credulous spirit to imagine that Europe—the most enlightened part of Europe—would, after an interval of seventy years from the capture of Acre, again agitate for having the green turban of Islam shaken in its face.

But before the French king could seriously undertake his Quixotical project his attention was forcibly withdrawn to the consideration of a more serious and practical matter. The details of the recent treaty had provided that one-third of the three million crowns given for the king's ransom should be paid before his liberation, and that the payment of the remaining two-thirds should be guaranteed by the detention of the king's sons as hostages. Edward, with marked liberality, permitted the princes thus put into his power to remain in Calais, with liberty to go as they pleased, subject only to the restriction that on every fourth day they should return to their quarters. Soon the intelligence was carried to John that two of his sons, the dukes of Anjou and Berri, galled by the light restraint laid upon them, had left Calais and returned to Paris. Nor did his persuasions and commands avail any thing with the princes to return to their nominal captivity.

The French king, believing that his honor was compromised by this conduct on the part of his sons, determined to keep the faith of a royal knight by going again into captivity. Nor could any persuasion of his less scrupulous peers and ministers prevent the fulfillment of his purpose. He returned to England and soon afterwards fell sick and died, in the year 1364. His remains, after being honored with a splendid funeral by the English king, were

returned to Paris and deposited in the abbey of St. Denis.

It is impossible not to discover in this struggle for the mastery between the French and English nations in the fourteenth century the superiority of the latter. Both at Crecy and Poitiers the overwhelming numbers and superior equipments and abundant supplies of the French army, to say nothing of the courage of the leaders and the confident expectation of victory, should have given them an easy triumph over the soldiery of England. But the event was otherwise. Already the English were beginning to display that wonderful valor and steadiness in battle which has given to them in more recent times their world-wide fame. On the other hand, the defects of discipline were manifest among the French. Petrarch, who was contemporary with Edward and John, though of little discrimination in many things, perceived the true causes of the superiority of the English soldiery; but his comments regarding the previous reputation of the Saxons are an absurd misconception of the facts. He says:

"In my youth the inhabitants of Britain were the most cowardly of all the barbarians, inferior even to the vile Scotch; but now the English, having been trained under a wise and brave king, Edward III., are become a brave and warlike people. As to the French, when you enter their camp you might think yourself in a tavern. The soldiers are doing nothing but eating, drinking, and reveling in their tents. When called out to battle, they submit to no chief, obey no orders, but run hither and thither like bees that have lost their hive; and when they are made to fight they do nothing for the love of their country, but are wholly swayed by vanity, interest, and pleasure."

Such is, doubtless, the true explanation of the overthrow of France at Crecy and Poitiers.

On the death of John, A. D. 1364, the crown of the kingdom descended to his son CHARLES, surnamed the Wise. He received an inheritance of exhaustion and distress. The kingdom was desolate and the treasury empty. The devastating effects of war were seen on every hand, and the seditious and disloyal spirit of the feudal barons wrought havoc with the best interests of France. It was in the highest degree fortunate that the new sovereign was worthy of his station. He was the greatest and best of the Valois princes, and far surpassed in virtue and self-command any king who had occupied the throne of France since the days of Saint Louis. Charles adopted a new policy in the administration of the kingdom. Instead of spending his time in the field in directing military movements in person, he gave his first attention to affairs of government proper, and intrusted the command of his armies to able subordinates, whom he held responsible for success. In this way French generalship was developed; nor was the monarch robbed of the glory achieved by his arms. The distinguished Du Guesclin of Brittany acquired great reputation as a commander and well deserved his fame. In 1367 he was sent into Spain to take part in a civil war which was raging in that country between the Castilians, led by Henry of Trastamare, and his half-brother Pedro, who wore the crown of the kingdom.

But while the party of Prince Henry was thus aided by the French, King Pedro invited the Black Prince to come to his assistance, so that the civil conflict soon became a war between England and France. In the first year of the struggle Du Guesclin and the Black Prince met in battle near Najara, and the former was disastrously defeated and taken prisoner. The French expedition in Spain was completely wrecked; but so far as the fortunes of King Charles were concerned he was the gainer rather than the loser by the defeat. For it was the feudal lords with their "free companies," or bands of independent retainers, who for the most part composed the army of Du Guesclin, and the overthrow of this class of society was a benefit rather than an injury to the growing monarchy.

The immediate effect of the battle of Najara was to confirm Pedro the Cruel on the throne of Castile. The people, however, were by no means won over to his cause. The same power which had obtained was now necessary to secure the crown to its wearer. It was soon evident that, without the support of the English, Pedro's government would suffer a revolution. In the face of this fact the

king took no care to curb his rapacious disposition. The Black Prince became offended at his conduct, withdrew to Bordeaux, and left King Pedro to his fate. The retiracy of the English was the signal for a revolt of the Castilians. They rose on every side, overturned the throne of Pedro, killed him in battle, and gave the kingdom to their favorite, Henry of Trastamare.

Soon after his withdrawal from Spain, the Black Prince was taken sick, and suspicion blew abroad the rumor that he had been poi-

DEATH OF DOM PEDRO.—Drawn by Conrad Ermish.

soned. At any rate, his health gave way and his spirits also. He became morose and gloomy, and his temper, which had hitherto been the admiration of his contemporaries, descended to petulance and vindictiveness. The Gascons became discontented, and King Charles saw with satisfaction the growing disloyalty of Edward's subjects in France.

With a policy not unmixed with craft, Charles encouraged the Gascon nobles to break off from their allegiance to the Black Prince. By and by the English king was summoned in the old-time fashion to go to France and do homage for his continental possessions. When he refused to do so he was declared a rebel, and Du Guesclin, who had now obtained his liberty, was made constable of the kingdom and commissioned to recover for the French crown the provinces which the English had gained by conquest. Owing to the sickness of the Black Prince, the command of King Edward's armies in the field was given to John of Gaunt, fourth son of the English monarch. Du Guesclin, in the prosecution of the war, avoided battle and sought to cut off detachments of the enemy and to encourage defections. The policy of the French was so successful that the fortunes of the English steadily waned until Edward III., instead of advancing his claims to the crown of France, was brought to the verge of losing every thing which he had won in years of warfare.

At this juncture Du Guesclin died, and so great was his fame that several of his generals refused to be his successor. But this irreparable loss to the French was fully counterbalanced by the death of the Black Prince, who, after returning with ruined constitution to

England, lingered for a brief season, and expired in 1376.[1] In the following year King Edward died, and the crown descended to Richard II., son of the Black Prince.

While the affairs of France and England were thus brought to a conclusion little favorable to the interests of the latter country, the king of Navarre maintained his hostile attitude toward the House of Valois. It appears that the ruler of the Navarrese was not above subtlety and murderous intent. He is accused of being privy to the death of King Charles, though the accusation was never established by positive proof. The deed is thought to have been done by the agency of the son of the king of Navarre, who, with some attendants, had been sent on a pretended mission to the French capital. To them the finger of suspicion was pointed with so much significance that they were arrested and thrown into prison. Though the prince himself escaped with his life, the attendants were condemned and put to death. After lingering until September of 1380, Charles V. died, being then in the seventeenth year of his reign.

Notwithstanding the difficulties of his time, the reign of Charles of Valois was a period of progress in the history of the French monarchy. The court became more refined than ever before. The manners of French society were greatly improved. It was the dawn of that rare but somewhat affected culture for which the court circles of France were destined in after times to become so noted. A large part of the new refinement should be attributed to Queen Jane of Bourbon, who acquired the reputation of being the most elegant as well as the most royal lady of France. Though the old absurdities of dress and many of the ridiculous social formulæ of the Middle Ages were still upheld, the germs of the new era, bursting into life here and there, were discoverable in the palaces of the French nobility.

On the death of Charles V. the crown rested on the head of his son, also bearing the name of CHARLES, and honored with the title of the Well Beloved. The young prince was but thirteen years of age when his father died, and a regency became a necessity of the situation. The same was given to the young king's uncle, the Duke of Anjou; but the dukes of Berri and Burgundy, brothers of the late king and of the regent, were jealous of the ascendency of the Duke of Anjou in the affairs of the kingdom, and in this jealousy were planted the seeds of a discontent and turmoil as fatal to the interests of France as were the parallel disturbances and revolutions occasioned by the strifes of York and Lancaster in England.

Soon after the beginning of the regency, Joanna, queen of Naples, herself a princess of the House of Anjou, became involved in a difficulty with her heir, Charles Durazzo, and undertook to exclude him from the succession by appointing the Duke of Anjou in his stead. Durazzo, however, gained possession of the kingdom; but the French regent was in no wise disposed to yield the claim which had been given him by the queen. He accordingly seized upon the royal treasury of France, together with a secret accumulation of gold and silver which had been hidden in one of the palaces, and with the means thus accumulated proceeded to equip a large army for the invasion of Italy and the establishment of his pretensions to the Neapolitan crown.

In the beginning of his expedition the duke gained some advantage over the army of Durazzo, but the tide soon turned, and one disaster followed another until the French cause was utterly ruined. The army of Charles was routed and dispersed. The baggage and supply trains were captured. All the treasures of which France had been despoiled to maintain the ill-starred campaign were wasted or taken by the enemy. It is related that of all the gold and silver which the regent carried out of France only a single drinking-cup was saved. In complete humiliation the duke made his way back to Paris, and presently died of mortification and despair.

Notwithstanding the complete collapse and failure of the expedition against Naples, the claims of the Duke of Anjou to that kingdom were renewed by his son Louis, who, after his father's death, assumed the title of Louis II.,

[1] One may well muse over the might-have-been of English history if the Black Prince had lived to inherit the crown. Perhaps, in that event, the Houses of York and Lancaster had never drawn the sword, the House of Tudor never reigned.

king of Naples. But the pretensions thus advanced had only a fictitious importance, being valuable to future rulers of France, ambitious to invade Italy, rather than to the contemporaries of the House of Valois.

The absence of the Duke of Anjou in the Neapolitan war furnished the Duke of Burgundy with a good pretext for seizing upon the regency. More aspiring than his brother, he used the resources of the kingdom and the young king himself as the means of promoting his own ambitions. One of the steps in his progress was his marriage with the heiress of Flanders, with whom he expected sooner or later to receive the earldom of her father. Shortly afterwards, when the Flemings rose in revolt, the French duke made his relationship the pretext for interference. He advanced into Flanders at the head of a large army, and gained a great victory over the insurgents in the battle of Rosbec. The affairs of the earldom were settled on a basis satisfactory to the duke, and he returned in triumph to Paris.

YOUNG CHARLES VI. IN THE FOREST OF MANS.

In the mean time an insurrection had broken out in the French capital. The taxation had become so burdensome as to be no longer endured. A great mob had risen and almost gained possession of the city. But the victorious Duke of Burgundy soon suppressed the revolt, and made the rash insurgents feel the full force of his vengeance. Some he beheaded, some imprisoned, and others put into sacks and drowned in the Seine.

On arriving at the age of eighteen Charles VI. took in marriage the Princess Isabella of Bavaria; but the new queen brought nothing of dignity or reputation to the court of France. Her manners, indeed, were of so low an order as to undo in some measure the work of culture which had been begun by Queen Jane. To this unfortunate circumstance must be added the depravity of the king himself, whose education had been neglected, and whose character had little of manhood and nothing of the kingly quality. His great bodily strength and a certain easiness of temper, like that of the second Charles Stuart of England, were his best recommendations to public favor and esteem.

The recollection of the still recent invasion of France by Edward III., of the victories of Crecy and Poitiers, and of the conquests made by the Black Prince was fresh in the mind of Charles VI., and he resolved to repay the aggressive English in their own coin. It was found, however, when it came to planning an expedition against the British Islands, that the French had no fleet sufficient for such an enterprise. The equipment of such an armament was accordingly undertaken, and the year 1386 was spent in that work. Nine hundred ships were built and collected at the port of Sluys, and every preparation of men and means was made to secure the success of the campaign. Such, however, was the jealousy of the Duke of Berri that one obstacle after another was thrown in the way of the expedition, and the departure was so delayed that the season of storms set in and rendered sailing perilous. The French were so inexpert as seamen that the fleet was badly managed, and when overtaken with adverse winds was dispersed and wrecked.

The remainder of the vessels returned to the French coast, and in the next year, 1387, the armament was refitted and again made ready to cross the Channel. But the same delays were again caused as in the previous departure. The Duke of Brittany, acting under the influence of his enmity against the Constable Du Clisson, and ready to assist the fortunes of the English, sent a perfidious invitation to the constable to pay him a visit, but when the latter accepted the invitation, he was detained as a prisoner. The French armament was thus deprived of a commander, and those who had joined the expedition left the fleet and scattered to their homes.

In the mean time the king, on arriving at the age of twenty-one, with some show of self-assertion, took the government into his own hands and dismissed the Duke of Burgundy from the regency. He took his own brother Louis, duke of Orleans, as his chief adviser, and restored to favor many of the servants and ministers of his father. There was a brief period of what promised to be a reform in the government; and the French, in gratitude for this spasmodic display of virtue on the part of their king, conferred on him his title of Well Beloved.

But it was impossible that such a character as that of Charles VI. should long adhere to the policy of reform. Circumstances conspired with his own disposition to turn the salutary current of public affairs into the muddy flats of violence and depravity. Shortly after the abolition of the regency a certain Peter de Crayoa, a tool of the Duke of Brittany, waylaid the constable Du Clisson in the streets of Paris and gave him what he supposed to be a fatal stab. The wound, however, was not mortal, and the constable appealed to the king for justice and vengeance. Charles readily sympathized with the passion of his wounded minister, and an army was raised to retaliate on the Duke of Brittany for his conduct. The latter refused to give up the assassin, and in 1391 the king advanced against him. At the town of Mans, which had been appointed as a place of rendezvous, the king was seized with a fever, and as he proceeded on the march through the heat and dust of August, he fell into a delirium, and in his frenzy, while still on horseback, made an attack on his guards, whom he imagined to be enemies. He was with difficulty seized and bound and conveyed back to Mans. Such was the shock given to the expedition by the king's sudden insanity that the punishment of the Duke of Brittany was forgotten in the general anxiety of the captains and soldiers.

After a season Charles returned to his senses, but his restoration was not complete. In 1393, during the wedding ceremony of one of the queen's maids-of-honor, the king and five of his companions disguised themselves after the manner of the times among the nobility and appeared at the nuptials in the character of savages, clad in coarse garments covered with flax. While passing along in the procession one of the disguised came too near a flambeau and his flaxen garments caught on fire. In a moment the whole five were enveloped in flames, and four of them burned to death. The fifth jumped into a cistern and saved his life. The king, who was fortunately at a short distance from the others conversing with the Duchess of Berri, was wrapped by her in her mantle and thus preserved from the holocaust; but the shock to his nerves was such as to induce a

return of his malady. The second attack proved to be more serious than the first, and Charles never again recovered his reason.

The disaster thus entailed on France was more serious than would have been the death of the king. His condition was precisely such as to give full opportunity for the renewal of the quarrel and bitterness which had prevailed during the regency.

The civil strife which now ensued in the kingdom was on behalf of the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, the former the uncle and the latter the brother of the king. The angry contention of the opposing factions was intensified by the jealousies of the two duchesses. From this time forth it appeared that although woman was excluded by the Salic law from the throne of France, she was nevertheless capable of becoming the power behind the throne, wielding by her influence in society and her disposition to intrigue a scepter which, though shadowy, swayed the destinies of the realm more effectively than the real bâton of the king.

The civil turmoil thus unfortunately engendered was scarcely abated by the death of the Duke of Burgundy, which event occurred in 1403. Prince John, the duke's son, inherited not only his father's titles and estates, but also his father's animosities. The struggle of uncle with nephew now became a struggle of cousin with cousin, and the incidents of the strife were marked with all the violence and vindictiveness of which human nature, under the sway of cruelty and ambition, could well be capable. When neither of the dukes could overcome the other by any of the means known to honorable warfare, resort was had to assassination, the last weapon of the treacherous. In this instance it was the Duke of Burgundy who added to the measure of his guilt the crowning atrocity of murder. Having formed a plot against his cousin's life, he had him stricken down by an assassin in the streets of Paris.

It was now the turn of Prince Charles, son of the murdered duke, to take up his father's cause and to appeal to France for vengeance. The Duke of Burgundy was summoned to the capital to answer for the murder of his cousin; but he came attended by so large a retinue of armed men that the judges were obliged to acquit him of the crime. Nor did the people rise in behalf of the House of Orleans, for the late duke had done so much violence to public and private right as to alienate the affections of the populace. The Duke of Burgundy was admitted into the capital, and the proud Duchess of Orleans, unable longer to face her rival, died of rage and despair.

In the mean time Duke Charles, finding himself without the support requisite to cope with the victorious Burgundians, sought to strengthen himself by marriage with the daughter of the Count Armagnac. From this circumstance the Orleanist faction became known as the ARMAGNACS. As in the case of the great struggle between the English Houses of York and Lancaster, the opposing partisans assumed badges by which they were henceforth distinguished, that of Orleans being a white scarf with the cross of St. George, and that of Burgundy a red scarf with the cross of St. Andrew. Meanwhile the poor king, of whose person the warring factions were constantly striving to gain possession, wandered on through the chartless morasses of insanity, and when at intervals the star-gleam of momentary reason shot into his clouded understanding, he would fain shake off both the selfish partisans who sought to rise upon his ruin.

The only circumstance ameliorating the condition of the kingdom was the peaceful relations with England. In that realm the feeble RICHARD II., son of the Black Prince, had had a brief and inglorious reign, terminated by the usurpation of his cousin, Henry Lancaster, who took the throne with the title of HENRY IV. But the latter was little more successful than his predecessor, nor was the internal condition of the kingdom sufficiently healthy to permit the monarch to engage in foreign war. In 1413, however, the English king died, and was succeeded by his daring and soldierly son, HENRY V. Two years after his accession, he raised an army of forty-six thousand men, crossed the Channel to Havre, reässerted the claims of his great-grandfather to the throne of France, and laid siege to Harfleur. This place was soon taken, and the news of the capture had the effect in Paris to still for a time the angry contentions of the Armagnacs and the Burgundians.

But when the French army was thrown

into the field its progress was greatly delayed by the rivalry of the leaders. Meanwhile Henry advanced by way of Calais to AGINCOURT, where he arrived in the middle of autumn, 1415. Here, on the 24th of October, the third great battle between Mediæval France and England was fought, and the result was as disastrous to the former country as had been her overthrow on the fields of Crecy and Poitiers. Again the want of discipline in the French army was painfully apparent. Rushing forward to the onset without order or command, the knights and nobles were cut down by hundreds. The Constable D'Albret, who was commander-in-chief, the Duke of Alençon, and two brothers of the Duke of Burgundy were slain, and the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, with fourteen hundred other knights and noble warriors, were taken prisoners.

Though the victory of Agincourt was decisive, the English were little able to avail themselves of their success. For the heat of the recent summer, and the luxurious manner of life to which they had given themselves up in the enemy's country had so broken the health of the army as to make it a matter of wonder that King Henry had won the battle. After the conflict he felt constrained to recuperate his wasted energies by returning to England. The French leaders, meanwhile, according to the folly of the age, fell to quarreling as to who should have the office of constable, made vacant by the death of D'Albret.

ROVING BANDS OF ARMAGNACS.
Drawn by John Shœnberg.

The mind of France was now agitated with the question of the succession. The Princes Louis and John, eldest sons of the insane Charles VI., died under suspicion of poison. The third son, bearing his father's name, had taken in marriage the Princess Mary of Anjou, daughter of Louis II., titular king of Naples. It was that imaginary sovereign who was suspected of poisoning Louis and John in order to make way for his son-in-law to inherit the crown of France. The Prince Charles, now become Dauphin of the kingdom, joined the faction of the Armagnacs, and his mother.

who adhered to the fortunes of the Burgundians, was thrown into prison. Escaping soon afterwards, she became one of the most deadly enemies of her son.

In the year 1418 a dreadful riot occurred in Paris. The Burgundian faction gained possession of the city and put their opponents to the sword and gallows. The Duke of Armagnac was killed, and his leading followers perished with him. The life of the Dauphin was saved by Du Chastel, who hurried him to the Bastile and secreted him until he could make his way out of Paris. The queen-mother and the Duke of Burgundy made a triumphal entry into the capital, little regarding the bloody pavements still reeking with the gore of the Armagnacs.

In a short time a conspiracy was formed between the Dauphin and Du Chastel to take the life of the Duke of Burgundy. Nor would it be easy to say whether the prince or the duke was more treacherous in contriving to destroy the other. With well-dissembled purpose each met the other, pretending friendship; but just as the duke was kneeling to kiss the hand of Charles, the co-conspirators of the latter sprang from their covert on the bridge where the meeting was held, and the Duke of Burgundy fell under their swords. His estates and titles descended to his son Philip, surnamed the Good.

No sooner had the latter become Duke of Burgundy than he laid a plan for the complete overthrow of the House of Valois. He entered into negotiations with Henry V. of England, with a view of securing to the latter the succession to the French crown. The insane Charles VI. still lingered as the nominal head of the nation. Philip the Good contrived to have King Henry declared regent of France and rightful successor to the throne when the distempered Charles should cease to be. As a preparatory measure, the Princess Catherine, daughter of the king, was given to Henry as his queen, and it was hoped by the managers that the issue of this marriage should inherit the united crowns of the two kingdoms. Meanwhile the Dauphin, ac-

BATTLE OF AGINCOURT.

companied by his adherents, including several of the peers and some of the professors in the University of Paris, retired to Poitiers and awaited what turn soever might be made by the wheel of fortune.

In 1421 Queen Catherine presented her lord with an heir. In great joy at the event the king took the child to Paris, and there both he and the royal infant were crowned. But as to King Henry V. the end was now at hand. He died at Vincennes in August of 1422, bequeathing the regency of France to his brother, the Duke of Bedford, and the English crown to his infant son, afterwards HENRY VI. Nor did the disordered faculties of Charles VI. much longer tenant their mortal habitation. In the fall of the same year he died, being then in the forty-third year of his reign and the thirty-first of his insanity.

The coterie of nobles who adhered to the fortunes of the Dauphin were not slow to proclaim him king. It appears that the real heart of France had never sympathized with the Burgundian scheme for the establishment of an English dynasty, and the proclamation of their own prince was an act well pleasing to a majority of Frenchmen. It was not possible, however, that Charles should be crowned at Rheims, and that for the sufficient reason that Rheims was held by the English, who were not at all disposed to relinquish their grip on the country. It thus became necessary that CHARLES VII. should have his coronation performed at Poitiers. And so, with a feeble show of pomp and an actual display of poverty, the new reign was ushered in![1]

Meanwhile the English, ready to gain advantage from every circumstance, sought to profit by the transfer of the crown. The Duke of Bedford and his generals sallied forth, and, marching from town to town, carried all before them. As to the Burgundians, however, their union with the foreign enemies of France proved the ruin of the faction, for their unpatriotic conduct alienated from them the affections of all true Frenchmen. In the midst of multiplied losses Charles fell back before his adversaries, and his army took refuge in the city of Orleans, that being the only important place remaining in possession of the king.

MASSACRE OF ARMAGNACS BY THE BURGUNDIANS.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

The victorious English were not disposed to stop short of an absolute conquest of France. They accordingly advanced against Orleans, and in 1428 laid siege to the city. The investment was planned by the Earl of Salisbury, who constructed a series of towers to

[1] Tradition has preserved the story that Charles the Victorious, shortly after his coronation, being in need of a pair of boots, was refused credit by the bootmaker, and obliged to go away without those articles so essential to the kingly comfort and respectability.

be brought against the walls, after the military tactics of the Middle Ages; but the towers were not sufficiently numerous to command all parts of the walls, and the Count of Du Nois, who was at the head of the royal forces outside the city, succeeded in establishing

JOAN OF ARC.

communication with the besieged, and in supplying them with provisions and stores.

During the progress of the siege the Earl of Salisbury was killed, and was succeeded by the Earl of Suffolk. A short time afterwards, as the season of Lent approached, the Regent Bedford undertook to provision his army with herring, in order that the soldiers might not commit the sacrilege of eating meat during the period of the interdict. Hoping to defeat this pious purpose, the French sallied from the city and attacked the escort of the supply trains. But the English were equal to the emergency. They poured out of camp, joined battle with the French, and the *Battle of the Herrings* ended in a complete victory for the besiegers. The besieged were reduced to the greatest despondency. They offered to surrender on condition that the city should be delivered to the Duke of Burgundy, and not to the Earl of Suffolk; but this condition was rejected with disdain.[1]

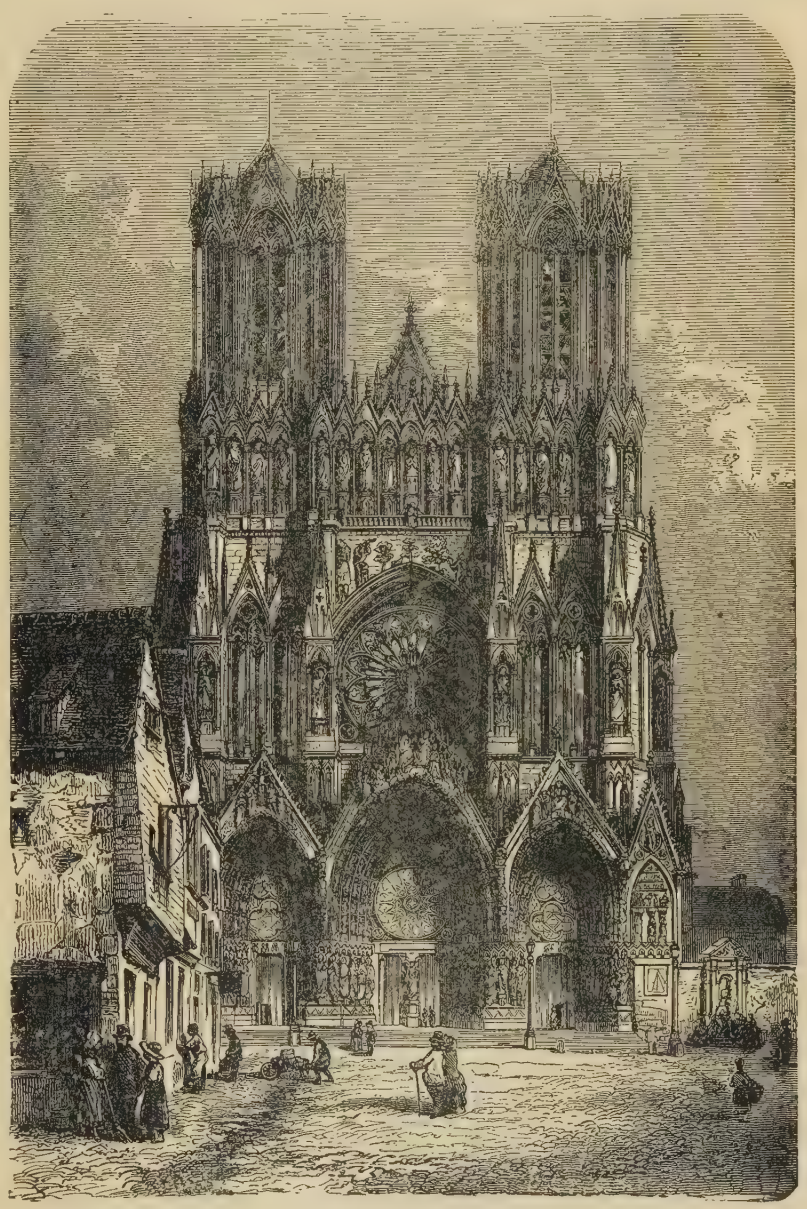
Now it was that the slight figure of a girl was seen on the smoky horizon of war. Joan of Arc, daughter of the peasant of Domremy, left her father's house on the Meuse and came to Orleans to deliver her suffering country from the oppression of the English invaders. Albeit she had seen a vision of angels. The Virgin had appeared to her, and had admonished her in tender accents to lift up the Oriflamme of sorrowful France. The hated Burgundians had made an assault upon her native village, and La Pucelle (for so Joan was called) fired with holy indignation at the outrage. The voices which had appealed to her became more clear and distinct. In 1428 she went to the governor of Vancouleurs, but he

[1] It was on this occasion that the regent Bedford asked the significant question whether the French thought him fool enough to "beat the bush while the Duke of Burgundy caught the hare."

rejected her pretensions with scorn. Afterwards she sought the king himself, and was granted an audience at Chinon, where Charles then held his alleged court. That distracted prince, like a drowning man, was ready to grasp at a feather. The Maid told him of her mission to raise the siege of Orleans, and to escort himself to Rheims, to be crowned in that ancient and honorable city. Although most of the king's courtiers considered Joan insane, or, worse than that, a dealer in the Black Art, come to work his Majesty's ruin, the king heard her with anxious attention, and in the end she was granted a royal escort to accompany her on her way to Orleans.

Arriving at the besieged city, the maiden of Domremy soon inspired the discouraged soldiery with fresh hopes of success. She had already clad herself in armor, and it was not long until she was looked to by the French as the Angel of War. They did her bidding with implicit faith. She commanded in several sorties which were made against the camp of the besiegers. Meanwhile her fame reached the English soldiers, and they, not less superstitious than the men of Orleans, dreaded the appearance of the Maid as the Trojans feared the apparition of Athene. So great a terror was presently spread among the besiegers that the investment fell to pieces, and by the close of May, 1429, the siege of Orleans was abandoned.

As soon as this, the first half of her mission, was accomplished, Joan undertook the other part, which related to the king. In the mean time the national spirit of France was thoroughly aroused. The people looked to the consecrated banner of the Maid of Orleans as to the sure sign of victory and deliverance. She conducted Charles VII. in triumph from Chinon to Rheims, where, in the great cathe-



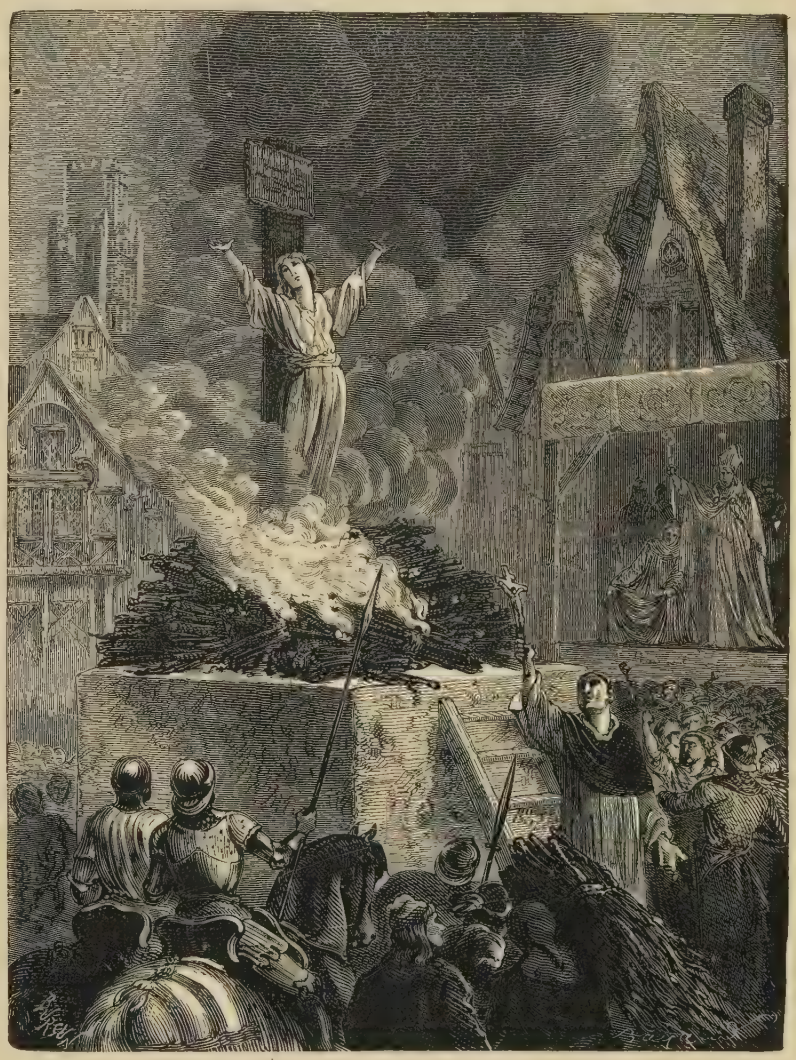
CATHEDRAL OF RHEIMS.

dral, he was crowned with enthusiastic acclamations. This done, Joan regarded her mission as at an end. Whatever might have been the source and origin of her power, she *believed* that her work was now accomplished, and was anxious to put off her soldier's

WOUNDING OF JOAN OF ARC.
Drawn by A. de Neuville

garb and return to her father's cot by the Meuse.

But the French, having conquered under her banner, were unwilling to spare her services. Against her judgment and conscience, she was overborne by Du Nois and induced to remain with the army. Her power, however, was no longer displayed. In the beginning of winter she took part in an assault which was made on Paris, then held by the English and Burgundians. The result was a serious repulse, in which the Maid of Orleans was wounded by an arrow. In the following year she succeeded in making her way into Compeigne, which was at that time invested by the English. In May of 1430 she headed a sortie which was made against the besiegers, but the movement was a failure, and the Maid was taken prisoner. She was conveyed to Beaurevoir and there confined in a fortress.



BURNING OF JOAN OF ARC.

Afterwards she was taken to Rouen and again put into prison. In the mean time, the University of Paris, then completely under the influence of the Burgundians, and hoping to curry favor with the English by destroying her who had been instrumental in overturning their dominion in a large part of France, demanded that she should be tried on a charge of sorcery. To this the English authorities, more generous than the Parisian bigots, gave a reluctant consent. An inquisition was accordingly set to investigate the alleged crimes of the girl of Domremy. After a trial of several months' duration, the papers of the tribunal were made up and sent to Paris. Here they were passed upon by the magnates of the university, and a verdict rendered that the acts and sentiments of the Maid were of diabolical origin, and that she should be burned at the stake. When the sentence of death was read to her by the Bishop of Beauvais she was given the alternative of recantation or death. Being in mortal terror, she denied the reality of her visions and was taken back to prison. But here the voices returned, and being caught in man's apparel, which had been perfidiously left in her cell, she was declared by the bishop to have re-

lapsed into her old-time familiarity with the devil, and was brought forth and burned to death in the market-place of Rouen. Not satisfied with the infamous deed which they had done on the innocent, the ecclesiastics gathered up her ashes and scattered them in the Seine.[1]

It is probable that a part of the ill-success of the English in maintaining their ascendency in France was attributable to the dissensions which at this time sprang up between them and their unnatural allies, the Burgundians. A quarrel broke out in the Regent's military household between his brother, who was Duke of Gloucester, and the Duke of Burgundy. Nor did the antipathy which was thus aroused subside even when Bedford brought the young king of England to France and had him crowned a second time in the capital.

In the year 1435, the Burgundian faction, headed by their duke, openly renounced the English alliance and went over to Charles. The defection was well-nigh fatal to the English cause on the continent. The Duke of York succeeded the Duke of Bedford as Regent, and was himself superseded by the Duke of Somerset. But neither the one nor the other was able to support the tottering banner of St. George. The city of Paris rose in insurrection and expelled her English masters, and in the latter part of 1437 Charles VII., after an absence of seventeen years from the kingdom, reëntered the city in triumph. But the resources of France were so nearly exhausted that want and famine followed hard in the footsteps of the royal pageant. Then came pestilence with its horrid train, and she that was destined to be the most gay and beautiful of modern cities heard the howling of wolves in her environs by night. For the dead lay unburied, and the streets were a desolation.

In the course of the two years following the plague (1439–40) the kingdom began to revive. Charles himself would fain have contributed something to the welfare of his subjects. A truce was made with the English, and the king set the example of devoting his energies to the pursuits of peace. But a thorn was already prepared for the royal side. The Prince Louis, now Dauphin of the kingdom, began to display that willful and malignant temper which was destined to fill the remainder of his father's life with anxiety and bitterness. While contriving to execute a plan which he had formed to assassinate a member of the royal household, the prince was at length arrested and banished for four months to the province of Dauphiny. This exile, which was intended as a temporary punishment, inflicted with the hope of reforming the culprit, was destined to be everlasting.

For at the end of his term the obdurate Dauphin refused to return to Paris, and set up a government of his own, which soon proved to be as oppressive as his disposition was refractory. The overtaxed people of Dauphiny cried out to the king, and the latter sent a cohort into the province to reärrest his contumacious son and bring him to the capital. But Louis, learning of what was intended, abdicated his alleged government and fled to the Duke of Burgundy, at whose court he remained until the death of the king. That event happened in 1461, and appears to have been brought on by starvation; for the king, fearing poison, refused to take his food until what time his bodily powers were exhausted and nourishment could not restore him. He expired in the fortieth year of his reign, leaving the kingdom to the loving Louis, at whose hands the father's mistress, Agnes Sorel, had recently received her death-draught, and from whom the king had expected a similar fate.

Failure should not be made to recall the attention of the reader to the great drama which in the mean time was enacted in the East. Now it was that the famous Empire of the Byzantine Greeks was reduced to the limits of Constantinople. The Turks, under the lead of Mohammed II., hovered in swarms around the contracted center of the old civilization. So far into the wide champaign of modern times was flung the colossal shadow of antiquity! The capital of the East was well defended, and for several years the

[1] The death of Joan of Arc did not fail to furnish a theme of retributive justice. It is said that all of her judges met violent and sudden deaths, though one of them, the Bishop of Lisieux, attempted to avert his fate and expiate his crime by founding a church.

Moslems beat in vain about the impregnable ramparts. At last, however, on the 29th of May, 1453, the city was carried, and the long baffled Turks gave free rein to their passions as they rushed in and possessed themselves of the palaces of the Cæsars.

At the time of his father's death, the Dauphin Louis was in Brabant. Hearing of that event, he mounted his horse and, accompanied by the Duke of Burgundy, made all speed for the paternal kingdom. The new king was already thirty-eight years of age, but his character was in most respects unworthy of his years. He made his entry into Paris with an army, dismissed his father's ministers, took from his younger brother all his estates except the county of Berri, and filled every vacant place with some favorite from his own followers. Only one merit was conspicuous in the new government, and that was force.

The initial character of the reign of LOUIS XI. excited an intense antagonism among the nobility. Here began that final warfare which expiring Feudalism was destined to wage with the ambitious monarchy of France. An alliance, called the League of the Public Good, was formed among the barons and nobles, and it soon became apparent that there was an irrepressible conflict to be waged between the king and the remnants of the feudal aristocracy.

No sooner was Louis seated on the throne than he threw off the House of Burgundy, by whose aid he had been supported, and thus converted the powerful adherents of that branch of the royal family into deadly enemies. The dukes of Berri and Brittany were also driven by bad treatment into the ranks of the opposition, but the real leadership of the feudal party fell to Count CHARLES of Charolais, surnamed the Bold, son of the Duke of Burgundy. He it was whose rash but noble nature, strongly in love with the old liberties of Mediæval Europe, and smarting under the sense of wrongs inflicted by the ungrateful king, urged him to unsheath the sword against the oppressor and become the champion of his order.

BATTLE OF MONTLHERI.

The leaders of the League called out their forces and began to assemble in the neighborhood of Paris. At that time the king was absent in the county of Bourbon, whither he had been called to put down an insurrection. As soon as this work was accomplished, he returned and attempted to enter the capital, but the Burgundian forces were in his way near MONTLHERI, and an indecisive battle ensued, in which both sides claimed the victory. Charles the Bold retained the field, and the king succeeded in entering Paris.

CHARLES THE BOLD.

Once in his capital Louis adopted a policy well calculated to rally the people to his standard. He reduced the rates of taxation and admitted citizen representatives to the parliament; but it soon appeared that these concessions were merely for effect, having no foundation in a real preference for liberty, but rather in the motives peculiar to a royal demagogue. For no sooner had the liberal measures of the king produced their effect than he changed his course even to the extent of expelling from the ministry all who had advised the popular statutes.

When all of the feudal armies had gathered into one, their numbers were reckoned at a hundred thousand men. The essential vices of the old aristocratic system now appeared in full force. The leaders would not concede the command-in-chief to any of their number. Charles of Burgundy was manifestly the one upon whom should have been devolved the responsibility of command, but the jealousies of the dukes of Berri and Brittany would not permit him to take the post of honor and danger. On the other side Louis was *one*. His single will was unimpeded in action. His plans had unity, and he deliberately proceeded to take advantage of the divided personality of his enemies. He adopted the policy of breaking up the League by craft rather than by force. By appealing to the individual interests of the different leaders he soon learned that each had his price, and that most could be cajoled with fair promises, which the king never intended to fulfill. In this way it was agreed that the Somme towns should remain to the House of Burgundy, and that the Duke of Berri should have Normandy as his duchy. But no sooner was the confederacy broken up than the nobles began to discover that they had been overreached. When the Duke of Berri was about to establish himself in his province he was suddenly expelled by his brother, the king, and was driven into Brit

tany. Soon afterwards the Duke of Burgundy died, and was succeeded by Charles the Bold, who, if his prudence had been equal to his courage, his wisdom to his chivalry, might well have given a check to the career of the ambitious king.

It was presently the fate of Louis to fall into a snare of his own setting. In 1467 the Flemings, rarely at peace with their sovereign, were in one of their periodic revolts. According to the treaty of Conflans the province of Flanders fell to Charles the Bold. The suspicion became rife that the Flemish insurrection was the indirect work of the king. But there was no proof that such was the case, and the chief cause of complaint on the part of Duke Charles related not to Flanders, but to the treatment meted out by the king to the Duke of Berri. In order to settle this matter a conference was sought and obtained by Louis with Charles at the castle of the latter in Peronne. Putting himself upon the honor of his powerful vassal, the king repaired thither, and was making fair progress in his work of cajoling the duke out of his wits, when the news came that the Flemish revolt had broken out afresh, and that the movement had undoubtedly been instigated by the agents of Louis. On learning this fact Charles the Bold gave way to justifiable anger, shut up the king in his castle, and set a guard to prevent his escape. Time and opportunity were thus afforded Louis to reflect upon the legitimate consequences of his perfidy.

But it was not in the royal nature to despair of extricating itself from the embarrassment. He began at once to tempt his attendants, and upon some of them he made such impression as to furnish him good grounds of hope. For one or two days there was danger that Charles the Bold, in his ungovernable passion, would put the king to death. But as he became more calm he perceived the impolicy of such a measure, and it was presently determined that Louis should have his liberty.

The royal prisoner, however, was not set free without the exaction of such terms as seemed favorable to the Duke of Burgundy. The latter required that the king should restore to the Duke of Berri the counties of Champagne and Brie, and that he should accompany the expedition for the suppression of the rebellion in Flanders. Louis was thus obliged to become a participant in the merciless punishment of those whom he himself had incited to revolt. Such was the disastrous termination of the king's visit to Peronne that the witty people of his capital made game of the royal adventurer, and taught their parrots to cry out *Peronne!* as his Majesty's equipage was passing.

No sooner, however, was Louis safe within his own dominions than he began to take counsel with himself how to avoid the fulfillment of his pledges. He began to trifle with his word, to procrastinate, to offer the Duke of Berri some other provinces than those which had been pledged, and finally to set aside the whole engagement as of no effect.

COAT OF ARMS OF CHARLES.

At length, in 1471, the Duke of Berri died, and it was believed that Louis had procured his taking-off by poison.

The impetuous nature of Charles the Bold was galled to an agony of resentment at these treacherous proceedings. He drew his sword in earnest, carried the war into Picardy, and spread terror wherever the banner of Burgundy was raised. For several years a civil war, filled with details as tedious as they were cruel, was waged between the Houses of Valois and Burgundy. At length a new character appeared on the scene in the person of Louis of Luxembourg, count of St. Pol. This nobleman was one of those whom the king had won over from the Burgundians by making him constable of the kingdom. St. Pol accepted the office with a secret understanding that as opportunity might offer he would

play into the hands of the Duke of Burgundy. As a matter of fact the Count Louis was not for either master save as being so might subserve his own interest. Soon, however, he fell under suspicion of both the ill-served duke and the worse-served king. They

MEETING OF LOUIS XI. AND CHARLES THE BOLD IN PERONNE.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

in their turn, for the nonce, forgot their own enmity in the presence of the double-dealing of the constable. They combined to destroy him as a traitor, and made an agreement that as soon as St. Pol should fall into the power of either he should be at once put to death or else be delivered to the other. It happened that the count was captured by Charles, and he, true to his promise, sent him a prisoner to the king, who had him condemned and executed in 1475.

In the same year of this event Louis XI. was obliged to face an English army under the lead of King Edward IV. The latter entered France as the champion of the Burgundian cause, but Louis rightly judged that the York ruler would gladly be at home if he could be with honor. He accordingly adopted the plan of buying off the invaders with such bribes as seemed suited to the exigency and tastes of each. A treaty was made between the two kings on the bridge of Paquigni, and it was there agreed that the friendship of the high contracting parties should be cemented by the marriage of the daughter of Edward to the heir of France.

Neither the interests nor the wishes of Charles the Bold were in any way consulted in this treaty. He refused to sanction the terms, but soon afterwards was sufficiently placated to assent to a separate truce with the French king for a period of nine years. His warlike nature, however, was now fully developed, and he at once turned his attention to the province of Lorraine, whose duke he dispossessed of the realm. He also made an attack on Savoy, and then on the Swiss cantons. In the latter campaign he was met with a stubborn resistance, and in the spring of 1476 was defeated in the battle of Granson. But it was a part of Charles's disposition to be exasperated rather than made wise by disaster. After his defeat at the hands of the Swiss mountaineers, he rallied his forces and renewed the conflict with as much daring as imprudence. The result was a complete overthrow in the battle of Nancy, which was fought in the beginning of 1477. Here the rash and impetuous duke lost his life, the

DEATH OF CHARLES THE BOLD.

deed being the work of treachery. A certain Italian named Campobasso, who had won the confidence of Charles, turned traitor and ordered his men to kill him during the battle. The duke, three times wounded, fell on his face in a morass, and was frozen to death during the night. On the morrow the Duke of Lorraine discovered the body, cut it from the ice, and gave it honorable burial.[1]

With the death of Charles the Bold the dukedom of Burgundy was extinguished. The title to that power which had measured swords with the French monarchy descended

JAMES ARTEVELDE.—Statue in Ghent.

to Mary, the only child of Charles the Bold; but this princess was soon tossed helplessly on the angry waves of revolution. The duchy of Burgundy was seized by Louis. The people of Ghent, whose patriotism, still burning with the heat which had been kindled in the preceding century by the great popular leader, James Artevelde, could not easily be quenched, rose in insurrection, killed their governor, and declared their independence.

[1] It was on this occasion that the Duke of Lorraine pronounced his celebrated funeral oration of twelve words: "God rest his soul! He has given us much trouble and grief."

In vain did the Duchess Mary attempt to arouse the loyal sympathies of her people. She proposed a marriage with the Dauphin of France and the consequent permanent annexation of the duchy to that kingdom. But this proposal was betrayed by Louis to the subjects of Mary, and their discontent was thus further aggravated. Her ministers were condemned to death; and though in her despair she went into the market-place where the scaffolds were built for execution, and madly besought the angry population to stay their hands from the murder of her faithful servants, her prayers and tears were all in vain. Her ministers were executed and herself imprisoned. She was obliged to renounce her French marriage, and was presently afterwards united with Prince Maximilian, son of the German Emperor, Frederick III.

In 1481 the duchess died. Her claims to Burgundy were bequeathed to her children, Philip and Margaret. The latter was sent into France to be educated, and was betrothed to the Dauphin. King Louis had, in the mean time, wearied of the marriage engagement of his son with the daughter of Edward IV. of England. That contract was accordingly renounced in favor of the union of the French heir with the Burgundian princess. This change in the policy of his rival was a serious blow to the hopes of King Edward, who but a short time survived his disappointment.

Nor was Louis XI. destined much longer to hold the reigns of power. He had lived, however, to triumph over all his foes. He had seen his plans succeed and those of his enemies be blasted. More than this, he had witnessed the ruin of the feudal nobility, and the building, under his own auspices, of the great fabric of French Monarchy. The territory of France had been widened almost to her present limits. Those provinces which had belonged to the English—Normandy, Angoumois, Touraine, Poitou, Saintonge—were reïncorporated with the kingdom, and became henceforth essentially French. Between 1461 and 1483 no fewer than ten provinces were added to the dominions of France.

Louis, thus triumphant and abounding in power, fell a prey to the fear of death. With broken constitution, haunted with real and imaginary terrors, he sank lower and lower into gloom and despair, and in 1483 died, pursued by the phantoms of his crimes. With the close of his reign, with the upbuilding of the monarchy on the ruins of the old feudal liberties of the realm, we mark another period in the history of France. Here, at a point within nine years of the discovery of America by Columbus, and within less than a generation of the outbreak of the Reformation, we make a pause and turn to the history of Germany, purposing to sketch the annals of that country from the close of the Crusades to the accession of Maximilian I.

LOUIS XI. IN PLESSIS-LEZ-TOURS.

It only remains, before passing from the two centuries of French history just reviewed, to note with emphasis the essential fact, the fundamental principle, which became dominant in France in the times of the later princes of Valois; namely, the suppression and break-up of the feudal nobility, and the appearance of a real *King* and a real *People*. The Government of France displayed itself with a vigor never before witnessed since the days of the barbarian monarchy, and the government was *civil*—no longer a mere military force. In commenting upon this notable period the broad-minded Guizot says, with his usual clearness:

"The French government had never been more destitute of unity, of cohesion, and of strength than under the reign of Charles VI. (1380–1422), and during the first part of the reign of Charles VII. At the end of this reign (1461) the appearance of every thing was changed. There were evident marks of a power which was confirming, extending, organizing itself. All the great resources of government, taxation, military force, and administration of justice, were created on a great scale, and almost simultaneously. This was the period of the formation of a standing army, of permanent militia, and of *compagnies-d'ordonnance*, consisting of cavalry, free arch-

ers, and infantry. By these companies Charles VII. reëstablished a degree of order in the provinces, which had been desolated by the license and exactions of the soldiery, even after the war had ceased. All contemporary historians expatiate on the wonderful effects of the *compagnies-d'ordonnance*. It was at this period that the *taille*, one of the principal revenues of the crown, was made perpetual—a serious inroad on the liberty of the people, but which contributed powerfully to the regularity and strength of the government. At the same time the great instrument of power, the administration of justice, was extended and organized; parliaments were extended and multiplied, five new parliaments having been instituted in a short space of time: under Louis XI., the parliaments of Grenoble (in 1461), of Bordeaux (in 1462), and of Dijon (in 1477); under Louis XII., the parliaments of Rouen (in 1499), and of Aix (in 1501). The parliament of Paris also acquired, about the same time, much additional importance and stability, both in regard to the administration of justice and the superintendence of the police within its jurisdiction."

With a like philosophical clearness and truthfulness the same historian continues:

"Before his [Louis's] time the government had been carried on almost entirely by force and by mere physical means. Persuasion, address, care in working upon men's minds, and in bringing them over to the views of the government—in a word, what is properly called policy—a policy, indeed, of falsehood and deceit, but also of management and prudence—had hitherto been little attended to. Louis XI. substituted intellectual for material means, cunning for force, Italian for feudal policy. Take the two men whose rivalry engrosses this period of our history, Charles the Bold and Louis XI.: Charles is the representative of the old mode of governing; he has recourse to no other means than violence; he constantly appeals to arms; he is unable to act with patience, or to address himself to the dispositions and tempers of men in order to make them the instruments of his designs. Louis XI., on the contrary, takes pleasure in avoiding the use of force, and in gaining an ascendency over men by conversation with individuals, and by skillfully bringing into play their interests and peculiarities of character. It was not the public institutions or the external system of government that he changed; it was the secret proceedings, the tactics, of power. It was reserved for modern times to attempt a still greater revolution; to endeavor to introduce into the means, as well as the objects, of public policy, justice in place of self-interest, publicity instead of cunning. Still, however, a great step was gained by renouncing the continued use of force, by calling in the aid of intellectual superiority, by governing through the understandings of men, and not by overturning every thing that stood in the way of the exercise of power. This is the great change which, among all his errors and crimes, in spite of the perversity of his nature, and solely by the strength of his powerful intellect, Louis XI. has the merit of having begun."

CHAPTER XCVI.—GERMANY IN FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

WITH the execution of Prince Conradin on a scaffold in the market-place of Naples, October 29th, 1268, the House of Hohenstaufen became extinct.[1] Then followed a period in German history known as the Interregnum. Indeed, a condition of affairs fit to be so designated had supervened as early as the death of Conrad IV., in 1254. Such was the confusion of the epoch that the German people were wont to call it "the Evil Time, when there was no Emperor."

The prevailing feature of this troubled period was the want of any central authority. For a season it appeared that the political society of Germany was again broken up to its foundations. After the downfall of the Ho-

[1] See Book Fifteenth, p. 792.

henstaufens, there were more than sixty free cities within the limits of Germany Proper. There were a hundred and sixteen ecclesiastical princes exercising the rights of secular government, besides a hundred independent dukes, counts, and barons; and though many were ambitious to gain the Imperial distinction, none seemed able to rise against the opposition of the rest.

At length, in the year 1273, a diet was called at Frankfort by the Archbishop of Mayence, who proposed as a candidate for the crown of the Empire the Count RUDOLPH OF HAPSBURG, then governor of Alsatia. The nomination was supported by Count Frederick of Hohenzollern, and also by most of the ecclesiastics who were members of the diet. This circumstance, together with the personal character of the candidate, and the fact of his having six marriageable daughters to whose hands the electors might aspire, secured to him the election. He was chosen with the title of King of *Germany*, preferring a humble reality to a glittering fiction. By this piece of modesty he was soon enabled to make a satisfactory settlement with Pope Gregory X., with whom he had a conference at Lausanne in the first year of his reign. The pontiff on his part recognized the validity of Rudolph's election to the throne of Germany, and supported him with the whole power of the Church.

The new sovereign was not destined, however, to have smooth sailing in the political ocean. As an assertion of sovereignty he laid claim to those estates which were held by Italian lords in Germany, and was obliged to draw the sword to make good his authority. The Counts Ulric and Eberhard of Würtemberg and Ottocar II. of Bohemia made an alliance against the authority of the king, and the latter led forth his army to suppress his rivals. He first restored order in Würtemberg, and at the same time succeeded in stirring up a Bohemian revolt against Ottocar. The king advanced to Vienna, and after a short siege compelled the city to surrender.

Ottocar soon found that the lion of the tribe of Hapsburg was not to be trifled with, and that his own safety required him to conclude a peace. Accordingly, in 1276, a treaty was made, and Rudolph was constrained to renounce his claim to Carinthia, Styria, and Austria; but it was no part of the purpose of Ottocar to maintain the peace. He immediately began to intrigue with the Poles and other peoples in the north of Germany, winning not a few to his support. The Emperor on his side was backed by the Count of Tyrol, by Frederick of Hohenzollern, by some of the bishops, and by the Hungarians, with whom he made an alliance. In 1278 he marched against the defiant Ottocar, and fought with him a decisive battle on the river March. The Bohemian king was killed, and all of his forces that survived the fight were either dispersed or taken.

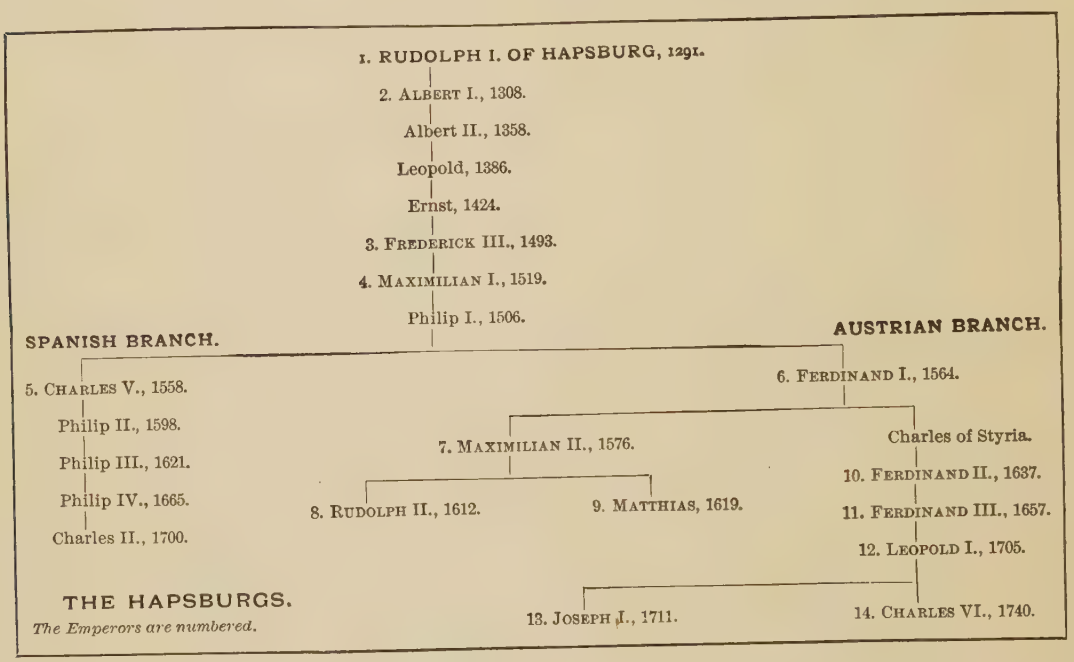
Rudolph displayed the qualities of a true king in the way in which he used his victory. No advantage was taken of the fallen enemy. Instead of that the shattered fortunes of the House of Bohemia were somewhat restored by the marriage of Rudolph's daughter to Wenceslaüs, the surviving son of Ottocar. Nor did the other German princes who had aided the Bohemian king in his attempt to overthrow the new dynasty experience at the Emperor's hands any other than kind and conciliatory treatment.

For five years Rudolph remained in Austria. In 1282 a new diet was held at Augsburg, and that body, with much unanimity, confirmed the king's title to the crown of Germany. Immediately thereafter the Emperor began to exert himself to the utmost to suppress the quarrels and feuds which prevailed among the German princes. He made a proclamation of what was called a *National Peace*, forbidding further turmoil and war between the Teutonic states, and although an edict of the thirteenth century was altogether insufficient to bring in the millennium, yet a great and salutary influence was exerted by the pacific measures of the king.

The second measure to which Rudolph gave his attention was the suppression of lawless violence in Germany. Until now the robber knights and banditti had continued their career with almost as much license and ferocity as in the gloomiest periods of the Dark Ages. The king determined that the reign of the highwayman's lust should cease. To this end bands of Imperial troops were sent into the districts infested by the robbers,

and their strongholds, to the number of sixty, were broken up. Many of the noble brigands, who had spent their lives in spreading terror through all the regions in which they had their castles, were hunted down and dragged to the gibbet.

In the course of time the Emperor gave his thought to the question of the succession. In 1290 his eldest son died, and in the following year, in a diet held at Frankfort, the king attempted to have his second son Albert declared his successor. But the scheme ended in failure; for the sturdy electors, imbued with the stalwart virtues of the race, were makers, and was overthrown in a revolution headed by Albert of Hapsburg, son of the late king. It was not, however, until 1298 that the diet formally abrogated the election of Adolph and declared Albert to be king of Germany. Even then the deposed ruler would not yield without an appeal to arms. A few days after the election of ALBERT to the throne a decisive battle was fought between his forces and those of his rival. The conflict resulted in the complete overthrow of Adolph and his army. He himself, badly wounded, but still fighting desperately, was met face to face by the king, and struck dead with a blow.



more disposed in the important matter of choosing a king to regard the law of fitness than the law of descent. At last, in July, 1291, within two months of the capture of Acre, the veteran Rudolph, already seventy-three years of age, died; nor was the vast influence which he had exerted in the affairs of Germany, sufficient to determine at once the succession according to his wishes. Instead of choosing his son Albert to succeed his father, the electors, under the leadership of the Archbishop of Mayence, entered into an intrigue with Adolph of Nassau, who, by promising every thing to his supporters, secured a majority of their votes. In a short time, however, he became embroiled with his

The new sovereign had his father's will and genius, but few of his father's virtues. He is represented as of a cold disposition, little regardful of the rights or happiness of any but himself. The larger part of his reign was devoted to the work of establishing the Imperial succession to the House of Hapsburg. To this one great purpose all minor considerations were forced to yield; and though such a result could not much conduce to the prosperity of the kingdom, he was measurably successful in carrying out his plans and purposes. In the beginning of his reign he was met with the determined opposition of Pope Boniface VIII., who, though Albert had promised much to the Church, was offended

at his haughty and arrogant demeanor, and would fain put a curb on his ambition.

This break between the Empire and Rome was as much attributable to the arbitrary and willful character of the Pope as to the assumptions of the German king. It will be remembered that at this same time Philip the Fair of France was under the ban of Boniface for reasons not unlike those which occasioned the break with the Hapsburg. This circumstance brought Rudolph and Philip into an alliance, and the league was supported by the free cities of the Rhine, which were won over by a remission of the taxes claimed by the bishops. In a short time the combination against him had become so formidable that the Pope was led, for policy's sake, to make overtures to Albert, with a view to breaking up the alliance. To this end Boniface, who was more angry at Philip than at Albert, offered to the latter, as the price of abandoning the cause of France, the disposal of the crown of that kingdom. For the Holy Father had placed Philip under the ban of excommunication, and declared the crown a forfeit. But before this imbroglio could be settled nature cut the complication by sending the Pope out of the world in an insane rage, to which he had yielded on being seized by some of his Italian enemies.

Meanwhile the ambition of Albert raised up a host of adversaries. All around the horizon there were mutterings of rebellion and civil war. For five years after the death of Boniface the Emperor was in a constant broil with his vassals and foreign foes. In the year 1308 it became necessary for him to enlist an army in Baden. Journeying thither, accompanied by a certain Prince John, who was his nephew, but whose kinship of blood had not expelled disloyalty from his nature, and four other knights who also had in them the poison of treachery, he was seized by them while crossing a river, and landed on the other bank, only to be murdered. The conspirators, however, gained no advantage from their bloody deed. The Empress Elizabeth, whose character was not dissimilar to that of her slain lord, proved fully equal to the task of avenging his murder. With that excess of cruelty for which the enraged woman in power has always been so noted, she seized upon the families and relatives of those who had engaged in the plot against her husband, and had them butchered to the number of a thousand. The immediate perpetrators of the crime, with the exception of Prince John, were put to death with torture. As for the chief conspirator, he made good his escape; nor is it certain to what fate his after life was devoted. The spiteful history of the fourteenth century was obliged to content itself by branding him with the infamous title of the *Parricide!*[1]

One of the marked features in the history of Germany at this epoch was the caution and conservatism of the electors of the Empire. They were in no hurry when one ruler died to choose another in his stead. In the present emergency the Archbishop of Mayence entered into correspondence with other high ecclesiastics to secure the crown to the Count Henry of Luxembourg. A diet was held at Coblentz, and after a canvass of the merits of various candidates Count Henry was chosen king. In the beginning of 1309 he was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle and took the title of HENRY VII.

The first complication arising after the accession of the new ruler was a clash between the Imperial authority and that of the free cities of the Rhine. Owing to the depleted condition of the treasury it became necessary to reimpose the taxes on those municipalities which, by the previous edict, had been freed therefrom. In doing so King Henry found it desirable to compensate the cities by enlarging their corporate rights. In some of his measures he displayed a liberality of policy worthy of a more enlightened age. Austria was given to the sons of murdered Albert of Hapsburg, and the body of that monarch, as well as that of Adolph of Nassau, was interred with honor in the burial-place of the cathedral of Speyer. About the same time

[1] It is said that Albert of Hapsburg was in his personal aspect one of the most repulsive monarchs of whom the Middle Ages could boast. Besides the peculiar pains taken by nature to write her displeasure on his visage, his countenance was marred by the loss of an eye, for, when poisoned in his youth, the learned physicians to whom he was intrusted took out one of his eyeballs and hung him up by the heels, in order that the poison might escape through the artificial *foramen* in his head!

the son of Henry, though only fourteen years of age, received as his bride the heiress of Bohemia, daughter of Wenceslaüs II.—an event which showed that the king was looking to the union of the Bohemian crown with that of the Empire.

In the next place Henry renewed the project of Rudolph of Hapsburg for the establishment of a national peace throughout Germany. To promote this object a diet was called at Frankfort in 1310, and another edict was sent forth forbidding further warfare among the German states. Count Eberhard of Würtemberg was driven from his possessions for refusing to sanction the pacific measures of the government. Having at length secured what seemed to be a permanent peace in his own realm, the Emperor next turned his attention to Italy, still torn by the dissensions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines. With a view to putting an end to these bloody turmoils, and perhaps impelled by personal ambition, Henry determined to secure for himself the Imperial crown as well as that of Germany. In this purpose he was supported by the Pope, as also by the German princes. In the same year of the diet of Frankfort the king set out with an army, crossed the Alps by way of Mont Cenis, and was hailed as a deliverer by the people of Milan. Here he received the iron crown of Lombardy, and was eulogized by Dante as the Savior of Italy.

It now became the policy of both Guelphs and Ghibellines to secure the support of Henry for their respective factions. Finding him disposed to act with impartiality, both parties were displeased with his conduct. The Guelphs revolted and went to war, and it was two years before Henry was able to resume his march to Rome. At this time the Eternal City was distracted with the contentions of the two powerful families, the Colonnæ and the Orsini, the former of whom supported and the latter opposed the cause of the Emperor. At length Henry was crowned in the Church of the Lateran by a cardinal. For there was no Pope in Rome to officiate at the ceremony, the Holy Father being then at Avignon.

THE BATTLE AT MORGARTEN.
After Pleuddemann.

It now appeared that the project of the pacification of Italy was a delusive dream. The Guelphs, rather than submit to the Imperial authority, made an alliance with King Robert of Naples, while Pisa and Sicily took sides with the Germans. Meanwhile the papal power, now about to return to Rome, and France, urged on by Philip IV., both interfered in the affairs of Italy. But just as the tempest of war seemed blowing up from all quarters of the horizon the problem was suddenly simplified by the death of the Emperor, to whom a cup of poisoned wine was administered by a treacherous monk who was officiating at the sacrament.

In 1314 another diet was convened at Frankfort, but when it came to a choice of a new king the electoral vote was found to be divided between the son of Henry VII.—John of Bohemia—and Frederick of Austria, surnamed the Handsome, son of the Emperor Albert. The adherents of John presently went over to Duke Louis of Bavaria, who thus received four votes out of the seven and was declared elected; but the supporters of Frederick were unwilling to accept the decision of the majority, and a civil war broke out between the rivals. Bavaria, Bohemia, Thuringia, and the free cities supported the cause of Louis, while Frederick was backed by Austria, Hungary, and the Palatinate of the Rhine. A decisive battle between the adversaries was fought in 1315 at Morgarten, in which the Austrian forces were overwhelmingly defeated. The effect of the engagement, however, was to secure the freedom of the Swiss cantons rather than to determine who should wear the crown of the German Empire. At this juncture Pope John XXII. interfered in the contest, declaring in favor of Frederick, who was thus enabled to prosecute the war with fair prospects of success. The strife continued until 1322, when the great battle of Mühldorf was fought, which, by the overthrow of the Austrians and the capture of Frederick, put an end to the struggle.

The events soon showed that the victorious Louis, now recognized as king, was not without his ambitions. As soon as a nominal peace was secured in the German states, he began to interfere in the affairs of Italy. On account of the assistance rendered by him to the Visconti of Milan he was excommunicated by the Pope, who, not satisfied with cursing the king in person, extended the interdict to all Germany. This action of the Holy Father, however, was less terrible than of old, and the Germans paid little attention to the ecclesiastical bellowings of Italy.

In a short time a formidable plot was formed to drive Louis from the Empire. The leaders of the conspiracy were Duke Leopold of Austria and Charles IV. of France. At the first several of the German princes were seduced from their loyalty and led into the intrigue. Afterwards, however, they broke off from the treasonable scheme and returned to their allegiance. But Leopold continued the contest. Louis, in the emergency, set his rival, Frederick, at liberty and sent him as a mediator to the Duke of Austria. The negotiations failed, but Frederick was permitted to go free, and was honored as of old with the confidence of the king. The renewal of the friendship between the two princes cast oil on the troubled waters of Germany, and a more peaceful state of affairs supervened. In 1326 the implacable Leopold died, and Louis was relieved from all further anxiety respecting the possession of the crown.

The king now found opportunity to renew his ambitious scheme for a coronation at Rome. In 1327 he made an expedition into Italy, fought a victorious battle with the Guelphs, received the iron crown of Lombardy, marched without serious opposition to the Eternal City, and was there crowned by two excommunicated bishops. In a great assembly of the Roman people the new Emperor presided. John XXII. was declared a heretic, and a new Pope was elected, with the title of Martin V. For two years (1328–30) Louis remained in Italy; but the imposition of heavy taxes, to which he was obliged to resort as a means of supporting the Imperial government, soon alienated the affections of his subjects. He grew into disfavor. Hatred took the place of friendship, and when he finally set out for Germany he was followed by the execrations of those whom he had intended to release from bondage.

Louis of Bavaria now became greatly concerned about the status of his soul. He had in him enough of the superstition of the age

CAPTURE OF FREDERICK THE HANDSOME IN THE BATTLE OF MUHLDORF

After the painting of W. Truebner.

to be fearfully galled by the papal interdict. For this reason he began to make overtures to the long offended Pope, and to seek in many ways to recover the favor of that irate potentate. The pontiff, however, was little disposed to treat with consideration one who had so long defied his authority. He demanded as a measure precedent to any favorable recognition that Louis should abdicate the throne of Germany. In insisting upon this impossible condition the Pope was backed by the king of France, who desired the German crown for himself. In order to open negotiations with his powerful enemies, Louis sent to them as his ambassador King John of Bohemia; but the latter acted with no sense of the kingly affairs which he was appointed to discuss, and he was presently recalled. Nor was the temper of the German electors such as to permit their king further to humble himself, even with the hope of securing the peace of his soul. So the strife dragged on until 1334, when John XXII. died, and the papal crown was transferred to the head of Benedict XII.

By this time the mental condition of Louis had become so intolerable that he was willing to comply with any terms which the Holy See might impose. He offered to abdicate the throne of Germany, and to submit to what rigors of punishment soever the Pope might see fit to inflict. Nor is it doubtful that a reconciliation of the House of Bavaria with the Head of the Church would have been effected on the humiliating conditions referred to, had it not been for the interference of Philip VI. of France, who like his predecessor saw the phantom of the Imperial crown in his dreams.

It appears that this arrogant pretense of a rival monarch had the effect of rousing Louis from his apathy. He called a diet to assemble at Frankfort, and before the august body of princes, bishops, and citizens (for the free cities were now represented in the diet), he laid his cause and that of the German people. The spirit of the race was fully displayed in the answer of the representatives. They declared that their sovereign had taken all proper steps and submitted to all proper conditions in the hope of recovering the favor of the Church, and that the Pope only, by his bigoted obstinacy, was responsible for the estrangement of Germany from the fold of the Faith. It was declared that the papal interdicts were of no effect, and that the German priests should give no further heed to the measures taken at Rome to distress the Emperor and his people. In order to secure support an alliance was concluded between Louis and Edward III., the former agreeing to support the claims of the latter to the crown of France. Philip VI. was thus apprised of the fact that while he himself was a conspirator against the throne of Germany, the English king had secured a powerful support in his scheme to gain the crown of France for the House of Plantagenet.

The league between England and Germany was to last for the space of seven years. It was stipulated that Edward's army was to be reïnforced with German troops, and that Louis's coffers were to be filled with English gold. For a short time matters went well, and the alliance promised favorable results for both kingdoms; but after a year the Emperor again fell a victim to his fears of Rome. He broke off with Edward III. and listened favorably to the insinuations of Philip. The effect of this course was to break down his influence with the German people, and to make him an object of universal dislike. At last the princes of the Empire were completely disgusted, and those of the number who were under the influence of Rome proclaimed Charles of Bohemia as king of Germany. The free cities, however, supported by the secular princes, adhered to the cause of Louis, and Charles made little headway in obtaining the actual sovereignty of the kingdom. After journeying into France and thence into Italy, he returned to his own realm and gave up his pretensions to the German crown.

In the last years of the reign of Louis of Bavaria, Germany, in common with the other states of Northern Europe, was visited with one of the most terrible plagues known in history. The Black Death, as the pestilence was called, spread from town to town, from district to district, from state to state. Many parts of the country were almost depopulated, and only a few places escaped the ravages of the disease. Nor did Superstition fail to point her ominous finger to this visitation as the work

of offended Heaven, seeking to be avenged upon the children of men for the sins of their kings. Louis himself escaped the plague only to become a victim of apoplexy. In 1347 he engaged in his favorite amusement of hunting, and while in the heat of the chase fell dead from the saddle.

Perhaps the most notable feature of progress in the political society of Germany during the thirty-three years of Louis's reign was the growth and multiplication of free cities. In the course of a half century the number of these aspiring corporations had increased from sixty to one hundred and fifty; and every such city became a nucleus and stronghold of that *People* which was to constitute one of the two principal facts in the history of modern Europe—the kings being the other.

Great was the freedom of the German electors in the later Middle Ages in the choice of their sovereigns. They were less constrained by prejudices for particular dynasties and deference to the law of descent than were the dominant political agents in any other kingdom of Europe. After the death of Louis of Bavaria the electors were much confused in choosing a successor. Prince Louis of Brandenburg, son of the late king, might have had a fair support for the place made vacant by his father's death, but he was without ambition, and refused to press his own claims to the crown. Charles of Luxembourg had some supporters, but the secular princes were mostly against him. At one time a considerable party offered the crown to Edward III. of England, but that monarch refused the glittering bait. The same party thereupon chose Count Ernest of Meissen as king, but he sold his claim to Charles of Luxembourg for ten thousand silver marks. The electors next brought forward as a candidate Prince Günther of Schwarzenburg, but his election could not be secured. Indeed, the prince perished by poison before the complication was untangled by the final election, in 1348, of the Luxembourg prince, who took the title of CHARLES IV.

If all the monarchs of the Middle Ages, or any considerable number of them, had begun their reigns as wisely as did the new sovereign of Germany, Modern Europe would have much sooner emerged from the shadows of ignorance and barbarity. His first important act was to found and endow the University of Prague, the first great German institution of liberal learning. Such was the unprecedented success of the king's undertaking that in the course of a few years the halls of the new school were crowded with six or seven thousand students. Nor was Charles much less successful in substituting order for anarchy throughout the states of Germany. But for the long-standing difficulties with Italy he might have established a reign of peace from one border of his dominions to the other. Such, however, was the obstinacy of the papal power that a considerable period elapsed before the king was able to secure his coronation at Rome. This consummation was not reached until the spring of 1355, and even then Charles was obliged to accept the Imperial crown from the hands of a cardinal sent from Avignon.

No sooner had the coronation been accomplished than the Emperor, tarrying in Rome but a single day, began his return to Germany. He did not, however, retire from Italy until he had made an entirely new departure in the Imperial policy respecting the Italian Republics. To them he deliberately sold whatever prerogatives the German Empire still retained over them, and receiving the money as a merchant might do at his counter, retired from the South, followed by the stinging satires of Petrarch.

None the less, the business-like Emperor was greatly improved in his fortunes by his transactions in Italy; nor did the matter-of-fact Germans see any thing in the recent business to be mocked at or condemned. Soon after Charles's return he convoked a great diet at Metz, and laid before the body the important question of establishing a constitutional form for the Imperial elections. This great work was accomplished by the close of 1356.

Another question of not less importance was the determination of the relations of the German princes to the Empire. It had become manifest that German unity could never be attained under the system of local independence which had thus far prevailed. In order to remedy the defects incident to the old system of government and to secure na-

tionality to the race, an instrument called the *Golden Bull* was prepared, wherein were set forth the principles of the diet respecting the relations of the Empire to the local governments of Germany. "Every kingdom," said the great document, "which is not united within itself will go to ruin; for its princes are the kindred of robbers; wherefore God removes the light of their minds from their office; they become blind leaders of the blind, and their darkened thoughts are the source of many misdeeds." The instrument then goes on to recognize and confirm the Seven Imperial Electors, namely, the three archbishops of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne, the king of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg. The four secular rulers here enumerated were to be absolute in authority over their respective realms, and their rights were to be transmitted to their oldest sons according to the laws of descent. As to the cities, their freedom was recognized, but they were forbidden to raise armies without the consent of the Emperor.

For a while after the establishment of this so-called Constitution of Germany, affairs went smoothly and promised well for a continuance of peace. Eight years after his coronation Charles took care that his son Wenceslaüs, then but two years of age, should be crowned at Prague as king of Bohemia. In the mean time, Pope Urban V. became more dissatisfied than his predecessor had been on account of his constrained residence at Avignon. He accordingly appealed to Charles to aid him to restore the papal power to its proper place in the Eternal City. The German Emperor heard the appeal with favor, and in 1365 set out with a considerable force to conduct the Holy Father to Rome. Having paused *en route* to crown himself king of Burgundy, he followed and supported the eager Pope on his way to Italy. Once in Rome, he behaved with such subserviency as to draw upon himself the contempt even of that over-religious metropolis. In humble garb he walked from the castle of St. Angelo to the Vatican, leading the Pope's mule by the bridle. The Romans had by no means forgotten the former conduct of the Emperor in selling out his rights to the Italian Republics, and they lost no opportunity to evidence their displeasure. But the impassive temper of Charles turned aside their every manifestation of hostility by a proclamation of amnesty, and to this show of mildness he added the virtue of an early departure from Italy—an event which marks the end of German interference in the affairs of the South.

In the settlement of the state of Germany under the Golden Bull, it was not contemplated that the Imperial crown should be transmitted by the law of descent. Nevertheless, Charles IV. spent a large part of his reign in contriving, by family marriages and otherwise, to retain the succession in his family. Nor did he hesitate to employ the golden argument of money to win over the electors to his purpose. It is said that in a diet held at Frankfort in 1376, by which body the Emperor's son, Wenceslaüs, was named as his successor, each of the princes received a hundred thousand florins for his vote. For two years longer Charles, already more than sixty years old, "lagged superfluous on the stage," and then died.

In the mean time two important movements had taken place in Northern and Southern Germany. In the latter district, particularly in Würtemberg, the cities declared war against Count Eberhard, against whom they prosecuted a fierce conflict for a period of ten years. It became a warfare of the rising *People* against the still vital leaders of Feudal Germany. About the same time the free cities of the North formed the celebrated union known as the HANSEATIC LEAGUE, destined for several centuries to exercise a marked influence on the affairs of Germany, and indeed of all the West. This famous municipal union planted its agencies in all parts of Europe from Russia to Portugal, from the Baltic to the strait of Messina. Such were the vigor and growth of the Hanse towns, their vast shipping interests, and thrift in commerce, that even the Emperor might well stand in awe of their power.

After the death of Charles IV., King Wenceslaüs assumed the government according to the program of the Diet of Frankfort. He was, however, little qualified for so arduous a duty. His youth—for he was but seventeen years of age—and a system of high

pressure under which his education had been forced with a view of fitting him for the Imperial office, had incapacitated him rather than promoted his chances for success. Nevertheless, he began his reign with a sincere endeavor to promote the interests of his subjects. It was at this juncture that Leopold of Austria, whom Wenceslaüs had appointed governor of several free cities, undertook to promote the interests of the House of Hapsburg by seizing the cantons of Switzerland. But the Swiss were supported by the free cities of Suabia, and made a gallant fight for

HANSEATIC SHIP.

independence. Leopold undertook to enforce his pretensions by an invasion of the country.

In 1386 he marched an army of four thousand well-armed soldiers and knights into the Swiss cantons. Against this formidable force the mountaineers were able to assemble only thirteen hundred men, and even these were without experience in war, being farmers, fishermen, and herdsmen, armed with pikes and battle-axes. The two armies met in the pass of Sempach, and never did the probability of victory incline more strongly to one of the contending forces than now to the side of Austria. The lines of Leopold as they advanced to battle looked like a solid wall of steel. How could the Swiss hope to break through and disperse so formidable a phalanx?

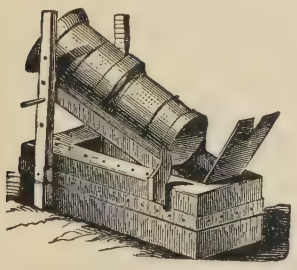
But on the side of the Swiss was the resolution of despair. When the lines were near together Arnold of Winkelried, with a heroism that has made his name immortal, rushed forward from the ranks of his countrymen, and with the wild cry, "Make way for liberty," threw himself upon the forest of Austrian spears. With extended arms he swept twelve of the bristling lances in his grasp, Into the small breach thus made in the enemy's lines the Swiss threw themselves with a valor worthy of their leader. They hewed right and left, and the strong knights of Suabia fell prostrate under the tremendous blows of the Swiss battle-axes. The gap was widened, and the whole force of mountaineers rushed through the Austrian lines. Leopold and seven hundred of his leading knights were slain. The rest were turned to flight and scattered in all directions. The battle was really decisive of the fate of Switzerland. The free spirit of the men of the mountains was never again in such serious peril of extinction.

The effect of the victory of Sempach was to inspire the Suabian cities to continue the

THE HEROIC DEATH OF ARNOLD VON WINKLERIED AT THE BATTLE OF SEMPACH.

war in which they were engaged with the nobles. But they were destined to humiliation and defeat. In the battles of Döffingin and Worms the citizen army was overthrown and ruined. The privileges of the municipalities were taken away, and in 1389 they were formally forbidden by a diet to form another union. Wenceslaüs exerted himself to the utmost to enforce the decree, and the attempt to form a Suabian Republic was thwarted by the united efforts of the king and the princes.

Like his father, Wenceslaüs was essentially Bohemian in his tastes and preferences. He made Prague his capital, and discriminated in other ways against the Western and Southern states of the Empire. As a ruler, he displayed all the ferocious qualities of a barbarian monarch. An executioner stood ever at his right hand, ready to do his bidding. Packs of bloodhounds were kept in the royal kennels, ready to be loosed upon any and all who chanced to give offense. He gloried in brutality and bloodshed, and was complimented when an anonymous scribe named him a second Nero. In the midst of excesses which would have done credit to the original of that name, his wit shot forth like angry lightning.[1] Nor could it be doubted that ere-long conspiracy and assassination would make a league against him. A movement was set on foot, headed by the Dukes Jodocus of Moravia and Albert of Austria. The Emperor was taken prisoner by the conspirators and was kept in confinement until what time he was released through the influence of his brother Sigismund. Seeing that the resumption of the Imperial office was impracticable, Wenceslaüs, as soon as he was liberated, devolved the duties of the same upon his brother, who took the title of Vicar of the Empire.



OLD SWISS MOUNTAIN CANNON.

Wenceslaüs, however, still retained the nominal sovereignty, and in 1398 ventured to call a Diet at Frankfort, where, when the princes had assembled, he renewed the old-time project of the general pacification of Germany. This movement on the part of the Emperor, and more particularly a scheme undertaken by him and Charles VI. of France to restore the peace of the Church by deposing both of the Popes, one of whom was reigning at Avignon and the other at Rome, led to a counterplot among the electors for the deposition of Wenceslaüs. This resulted in the choice of the Count Palatine, RUPERT of Bavaria, as Emperor, he receiving four votes out of the seven; but the other three electors continued to support Wenceslaüs and Sigismund the Vicar. Thus, for the nonce, the German Empire presented a double-headed aspect.

As soon as Rupert's alleged election was accomplished he resolved to gain universal recognition by a coronation at Rome. Accordingly, in 1401, he led an army into Italy, made an alliance with the Milanese, and marched as far as Brescia, where he was met and utterly overthrown by an army of Lombards. He and his Imperial pretensions went down in a common wreck.

While this movement was taking place Wenceslaüs managed to improve his fortunes by effecting a reconciliation with the dukes of Moravia and Austria. His pride grew as his prospects brightened, and he indulged his temper by quarreling with the Vicar Sigismund, who thereupon put him into prison. Such was the confusion thus introduced into the Empire that a number of the minor princes undertook to form a sort of second electoral college. Two of the leaders of this movement were at the same time engaged in a secret correspondence with France. It soon appeared that the new union was as much pervaded by the spirit of self-interest as the old; nor was it long until the League of Marbach, as this alliance of the princes was called, was resolved into its elements. At no previous time since the days of Charlemagne had Germany seemed so near to dissolution and anarchy as in the first years of the fifteenth century.

[1] It was Wenceslaüs who, on a certain occasion, when he had laid a contribution of four thousand florins on the city of Rothenburg and the inhabitants had refused to pay, sent them this message: "The devil began to shear a hog, and spake thus, 'Great cry and little wool!'"

In the mean time a struggle of gigantic proportions had been taking place on the eastern shore of the Baltic, between the Teutonic Knights and the Poles, assisted by the Lithuanians. In 1398 a great battle was fought before the city of Wilna, and the army of the Knights, numbering sixty thousand men, was defeated with great losses. But the resolute Order, though overthrown in battle, soon rallied and renewed the conflict. A new army, a hundred thousand strong, was marshaled for the final struggle. The Poles also, aided by the Russians and the Tartars, gathered an equally formidable force, and in 1410 the decisive battle of Tannenberg was fought, in which the German Knights were routed, with a loss of forty thousand men. The power of the Order was broken, and the Slavic race was henceforth in the ascendent in the countries east of the Baltic.

Just before the battle of Tannenberg the Emperor Rupert—if, indeed, he may be properly classified among the Emperors—died. The Imperial power was thus left to Wenceslaüs and Sigismund. The problem of the epoch was somewhat simplified by this event, but Germany was not much the gainer. In the mean time Holland had broken off from the Empire, and the larger part of Flanders had gone over to France. Luxembourg was hardly any longer to be regarded as a part of the Imperial dominions, and with that kingdom was incorporated Burgundy and parts of Lorraine. Indeed, on every hand the boundaries of the Empire had become so shifting and uncertain as to make a definition impossible.

When, after the death of Rupert, a diet was convened to determine the Imperial succession, or rather who was the actual Emperor, the electors were again divided between Sigismund and Jodocus of Moravia. The latter, however, died soon afterwards, and the former received the crown. He was, on the whole, one of the ablest rulers of his times—a man of learning and wit, popular in bearing and pleasing in address. The chief vices of his constitution were fickleness, profligacy, and the fact that he was the brother of Wenceslaüs.

In the beginning of his reign SIGISMUND was confronted with religious rather than civil difficulties. The condition of the Church was never before more deplorable. Christendom was claimed by three Popes, each of whom had excommunicated the other two. The bishops and priests had become proud, luxurious, and profligate. It was evident, even to the half-barbaric mind of the fifteenth century, that the ecclesiastics were administering upon the estate of religion for their own benefit.

The people, in their interests, hopes, and sympathies, were utterly abandoned and forgotten by the spiritual leaders of the age. It was this condition of religious starvation which in Bohemia, as early as 1360, led to the appearance of a class of independent or parish clergymen—preachers in the first intent—who went among the people, heard their cries, and ministered to their wants. It was impossible that such men should fail of a following. The poor rallied at their call, and the weak found in them their natural friends and protectors. The angry priests who saw themselves abandoned for their betters, stormed at the people below them. From the stone steps of their cathedrals they hurled anathemas at the insurgent crowds, who, sometimes with arms in their hands, fought and butchered in the streets. Unable to control the opinions and practices of the people they took up the axe of persecution, and hewed right and left; but the cause grew in spite of opposition, and, though the sowers fell in the field, the seed of that great religious revolt was scattered, which, with the coming of the sixteenth century, was destined to bring forth fruit a hundred fold.

There can be no doubt that the great university founded by Charles IV. at Prague was one of the leading antecedents of the insurrection in the Church. John Huss, the great Bohemian insurgent, born in 1369, was educated in the university. There he taught and there he defended the doctrines and deeds of Wickliffe, the English forerunner of the Reformation. He became rector of the university, and, together with the youthful Jerome, one of the Bohemian nobles, gave character to the doctrines and beliefs of the institution. This influence was shed abroad over all the kingdom. The success and reputation of Huss inspired him with boldness, and he denounced in unsparing words many of the leading opinions and practices of the

Church. He preached against absolution, the worship of saints, the sale of indulgences, and the doctrine of purgatory. He demanded that both bread and wine should be given to all Christians in the sacrament, and not bread alone, as was the practice of the priests. Indeed, his teachings were fully as radical and subversive of the current usages of Rome as were those of Luther more than a century afterwards.

While the doctrines of the Bohemian reformers were popular with

A BISHOP ANATHEMATIZING A CROWD OF INSURGENTS.
Drawn by W. Dietz.

their own countrymen, the Germans who were gathered in the university of Prague were little disposed to accept them. On the contrary, they remained attached to the doctrine and discipline of the Holy Church as the same were expounded by the Popes and bishops. The university was rent with a schism. About five thousand German students and professors left the institution, and in 1409 removed to Leipsic, where they established a new university on the principles of the old theology.

Great was the anger of the Pope when he heard of these proceedings. He immediately issued a bull of excommunication against Huss and his followers. Fortunately for the cause of the reformers, a quarrel broke out between the Holy Father and the king of Naples, and the former, having excommunicated the latter, offered a free indulgence to all who would take up arms against him. This gave to Huss and Jerome a tremendous advantage before the Bohemians. The act of the Pope in offering to remit the crimes of those who would fight against his enemy was denounced as a scandal to christendom. Huss publicly burned the Pope's bull in the streets of Prague and set his authority at defiance. At this juncture the violence of the reformers occasioned a reäction in favor of the papal party. Wenceslaüs took up the cause of the Church, and drove Huss and his friends out of the city. Many of his followers, seeing that hardship and exile lay in the direction of an adherence to his doctrines, chose to submit and be reconciled to the Church.

A general demand was now heard for the convocation of a council, to which should be submitted the matters in dispute between the Pope and his subjects. The prelates of the Church were accordingly assembled at Pisa in 1409. A new Pope was elected to take the place of the two already in existence, but neither the one who held his court at Avignon nor he at Rome would yield to the decision of the council, and there were three pontiffs instead of two. Matters thus grew worse in the papacy instead of better, until the Emperor Sigismund, urged on by the universal voice, convoked another council to assemble at Constance in 1414.

No such a body of prelates and dignitaries had ever before convened as the representatives of the Church. Pope John was present in person. With him came six hundred Italian bishops and priests. The other two Popes sent ambassadors to the council. The patriarchs of Jerusalem and Constantinople were present. The Grand Masters of the Knights came obedient to the call. Thirty-three cardinals and twenty archbishops took their seats in the assembly. One might have supposed that the religious affairs of not one but many

JOHN HUSS.—FROM THE LUTHER STATUE IN WORMS.

planets might have been satisfactorily adjusted by a body of such dignity and wisdom. It is said that thirty different languages were heard in the council, and that a hundred and fifty thousand strangers were gathered in the city of Constance.

In the conduct of business it was agreed that four nations—German, French, English, Italian—should be recognized in the council, and that the votes of three of these nations should be necessary to carry a measure into effect. At the first Germany and England

voted together in favor of a general reformation of the Church. But France and Italy favored the limitation of business to a settlement of the quarrel between the Popes. After much discussion England was won over from her reformatory attitude and cast her vote with Italy and France. Thus was the reformation of the fifteenth century postponed to the sixteenth.

The council next proceeded to elect a new Pope—Martin V. Of the three already existing Gregory XII. made a voluntary abdication; John XIII. fled from Constance, was captured and imprisoned at Heidelberg, and Benedict XIII. refused to obey the edict of the council. As for the new Pope, he immediately began to fortify himself in authority by concluding separate agreements with the leading princes of the Empire.

In the next place the Council of Constance turned its attention to the Bohemian heresy. The great Huss had himself been invited to attend the assembly, but had refused to do so until he was granted a safe conduct by the Pope. Notwithstanding the fact that he came to the council under this special protection of the Head of the Church, he was seized on his arrival and thrown into a dungeon. Sigismund made some vain efforts to have him released but could secure for the reformer nothing better than the mockery of a trial. Huss sickened in prison, but in June of 1415 was brought forth to be tried. In vain did he attempt to lift his voice before his judges. His fate was already determined. When he endeavored to speak his plea was drowned in the outcry and hisses of the priests. Vainly did he offer to submit his doctrines to the tests of Scripture. The only concession which would in any wise be granted was the alternative of instant recantation or death in the fire.

HUSS BEFORE THE COUNCIL.—After the painting by K. F. Lessing.

Huss had in him the materials of martyr-

dom. He steadfastly refused to recant, and on the 6th of July was led before the assembly to be condemned. The scene was one of the greatest solemnity. The rage of the priests could hardly be restrained. It is related that when Huss made himself heard above the din in an appeal to the Emperor for the promised protection Sigismund blushed with shame and confusion. The martyr was then condemned to death. His priestly garments were stripped away, and the bishop who pronounced the sentence commended the soul of the hero to the Devil. On the same day of his condemnation he was led forth and bound to the stake. His resolute spirit faltered not even to the last. The flames rolled around him, the voice of his supplication was drowned, and the deed was done. When the cinders were cooled, the ashes of John Huss were taken up and thrown into the Rhine.

Jerome of Prague met a similar fate. Like Huss, he had been solemnly promised a safe conduct to the council. But the prelates resolved that no safe conduct should protect a heretic. On arriving at Constance he was seized and thrown into a foul dungeon. Although the Bohemian nobles to the number of four or five hundred signed an address, protesting against this cruelty and injustice, and defending the prisoner against the charge of heretical teaching, the mad course of persecution could not be stayed. When Jerome, in the autumn of that year, was brought by his sufferings to the point of death, he gave way to a fit of weakness and despondency and promised to renounce his teachings. But with the return of his courage he recanted the recantation, and avowed again the truth of his doctrines. Hereupon he was seized a second time, tried, condemned, and burned at the stake.

The Church next undertook the reörganization of the University of Prague. It was seen that the free learning of that institution would prove fatal to the Faith. The spirit of the Bohemians was now thoroughly aroused. They had seen their favorite professors put to death with every circumstance of atrocity. They now perceived that their favorite seat of learning was to be invaded, its rights taken away, its fame and usefulness destroyed. Against the interdicts of the council they set themselves with such resolution that for the time the university was rendered impregnable to the assaults of its enemies.

After a session of nearly four years' duration, the Council of Constance adjourned in May of 1418. As to the reform of the Church, for which purpose the assembly had been ostensibly convened, not a thing had been accomplished. After forty-five months of wrangling, the greatest, wisest, and most imposing body which christendom had ever assembled, could present nothing to the world, nothing to history, but the vision of two stakes with their dying victims, crying up to heaven through the crackle and roar of the flames, and casting spectral shadows across the placid bosom of Lake Constance.

BURNING OF HUSS.

While this murky farce, set in the midst with two live coals blood red as carbuncles on the ashen breast of barbarity, was enacting at Constance, an important civil event took place in the relations of the Empire to a new House,

as yet but little known in the affairs of Europe. Sigismund, finding himself under the necessity of replenishing his coffers, had recourse to a loan, which he secured from Count Frederick of Hohenzollern, at that time burgrave of Nuremberg. This prince was a lineal descendant of that Frederick of Hohenzollern who in 1278 had aided Rudolph of Hapsburg in gaining the crown of the Empire. In order to secure the loan of a hundred thousand florins Sigismund executed to the count a mortgage on Brandenburg. Frederick thereupon moved to the mortgaged territory, and assumed the government, as though the title thereto had already been transferred to himself. So great were the abilities which he now displayed as a ruler, so marked his success in subduing the bandit knights who infested the country, that Sigismund, willing still further to fill the Imperial treasury, offered Frederick the absolute sovereignty of Brandenburg for the sum of three hundred thousand florins. The offer was accepted, and the Hohenzollern prince became one of the electors of the Empire.

FREDERICK OF HOHENZOLLERN.

In 1418 Wenceslaüs found himself prepared to begin a war with the Turks. This movement gave occasion for an insurrection in Bohemia. In that country an army of Hussites, numbering forty thousand men, rose in revolt and put the Imperial authorities at defiance. In Prague they stormed the city hall and threw the burgomaster and other officers of the government out at the window. Such was the rage and mortification of Wenceslaüs on hearing of these events that he fell down in a fit of apoplexy and died.

It was not long, however, until the sudden liberation of religious thought in a half-barbaric age produced its natural results in Bohemia. A schism broke out among the Hussites. A moderate party and a party of radicals arrayed themselves in hostility, the one against the other. The Calixtines would fain preserve the body of churchly doctrine, working out such reforms only as to them seemed necessary on account of the corruptions which had crept into the ecclesiastical kingdom; but the fanatic Taborites would sweep away the landmarks of the past and abolish Rome altogether. They would bring in and establish the Brotherhood of Man in all the earth. As commander of this host, an old, bald-headed, one-eyed man, named Ziska, was chosen; and, as if to make up for the lack of military experience with a thundering title, he styled himself "John Ziska, of the Chalice, Commander in the Hope of God of the Taborites."

None the less the hawk-beak nose of John Ziska had not been set upon his face as a false sign of genius. He soon revealed alike to his followers and his enemies such qualities as spread the fire of battle among the one and sent the specter of terror among the other. With great energy he armed the Taborites and taught them the tactics of war. By the time that Sigismund, urged by the importunities of the Pope, had succeeded in collecting an army of a hundred thousand men, and, advancing to Prague, the hardy and resolute Bohemians were ready to meet him in the field. In the autumn of 1420 a great battle was fought, out of the smoke of which (for Ziska had procured some cannon for his gunners) the Bohemian commander came forth victorious. The powerful army of the Empire was routed and dispersed.

But for the quarrels which now broke out among the different parties of the Hussites, it would seem that the work of Luther and his coädjutors might have been antedated by a century. The radical Taborites, however, went into communism, and would fain have a universal division of property. This doctrine repelled the Bohemian nobles, and Ziska lost a large part of his support. He nevertheless undertook to pacify his country with the sword. His severity against the priestly order knew no bounds. He burned more than five hundred convents and monasteries, slaughtered the monks, and wasted the country. In the schismatic license which now prevailed a new sect called the Adamites sprang up, and would fain restore Paradise by going naked. The fanatics gathered in the town of Raby, and were there besieged by the Taborites. While endeavoring to capture this place Ziska lost his remaining eye by a random arrow from the walls. But not even the blackness of darkness could conquer his invincible spirit. He continued to direct the conduct of the war, and became the Belisarius of Bohemia.

The event which now followed was one of the most remarkable to be discovered in the dun horizon of modern times. It was not to be presumed that the Empire would submit to the religious independence of Bohemia. To do so would be to admit that the solidarity of Europe might be broken up with impunity, and that the Church was a failure. An Imperial army of two hundred thousand men, commanded by four of the electoral princes, was now hurled against the insurgent kingdom. Another almost equally formidable force, led by the Emperor and Duke Albert of Austria, was to enter Bohemia on the other side; and the Taborites and other malcontents were thus to be crushed between the closing walls. But the heroism of the blind old Ziska rose with

OLD STONE BRIDGE OF PRAGUE.

the occasion. He became the impersonation of War. He led forth his uncouth veterans, armed with iron flails, maces, and clumsy guns; and on the 8th of January, 1422, struck the electoral army as if with the sword of fate. He was borne about the field and directed the battle in person. The electoral forces were scattered like leaves before the wind. Having wrought their overthrow, Ziska wheeled about and fell upon the Emperor, who was in like manner routed and obliged to flee for his life. Such was the completeness of the double victory that but for the internal misfortunes of Bohemia her religious emancipation must have been secured.

ZISKA VICTORIOUS.—Drawn by W. Camphausen.

The dissensions among the Hussites, however, became fiercer under the stimulus of success. The moderate party predominated in Prague, and Ziska was so angered at their conservatism that he prepared to take the city. In order to avoid such a calamity the leaders of the Calixtines made concessions to the implacable old general, and the Taborites made a triumphant entry into Prague. But the end of the career of Ziska was now at hand. In the year 1424 he began an expedition into Moravia, with a view to the expulsion from that country of Duke Albert of Austria, but while on the march he fell a victim to the plague.

After the death of their great leader the Taborites divided into two factions. One party chose for their leader a priest named Procopius the Great; and the other party, who called themselves the Orphans, chose another priest, who was styled Procopius the Little. Two years after the death of Ziska, Bohemia was for the third time invaded by the Imperial army. In the presence of the overwhelming danger the various sects of Hussites were obliged to leave off quarreling and unite their forces against the common enemy. Doing so, they gained another great victory over the forces of the Empire. Following up his advantage, the leader of the Taborites made an invasion of Austria and Silesia, and the Germans in their turn felt the terrors of war in their own country.

For the fourth time the Pope stirred up the orthodox princes to undertake the suppression

of the heretics. A force of two hundred thousand men was again thrown into the field, under the lead of the Archbishop of Treves, the Elector Frederick of Brandenburg, and the Duke of Saxony; but this great army met the same fate as its predecessors, being overthrown, routed, and dispersed by the victorious Taborites.

Procopius the Great now undertook to secure the religious unity of all the followers of Huss. In this work he was much more successful among the soldiers than among the people. Gathering most of the Hussite forces together, he made expeditions into Bavaria, Saxony, and Brandenburg, in all of which countries he triumphed over his adversaries until it appeared that none would be able to stay his course. A hundred towns and fifteen hundred villages sank into ashes in his route. Such were the tremendous heaps of booty piled up by his army that only a part of it could be taken into Bohemia—the rest was destroyed.

But for the obstinacy of the Pope a religious peace would now have been concluded. The pontiff, however, would hear to nothing but the extirpation of the heresy. Sigismund would gladly have left the Bohemians to themselves. He found more congenial work in a war with the Turks, which he undertook on the side of Hungary. In 1431 he concluded a peace on the Danubian frontier, and then listened to the appeal of Pope Eugenius IV. to reündertake the conquest of Bohemia. A fifth Imperial army, numbering a hundred and thirty thousand men and led by the Dukes Frederick and Albert, was thrown into the field, only to follow in the wake of its predecessors. In 1431 the Taborites won a complete victory over the enemy in the great battle of Thauss. They then marched in triumph to the Baltic, and made a successful invasion of Hungary.

The Pope was at last driven to call a council to settle a quarrel which five Imperial armies had been unable to decide in favor of the papacy. A mandate was accordingly issued for a general assembly of the Church at Basel. The Hussites would not attend until they were first guaranteed a safe conduct to and *from* the council. They then appeared to the number of three hundred, and as a basis of what they would accept presented the same four articles of faith and practice for the maintenance of which they had heaped the plains of Bohemia with dead men. These articles were: first, the free preaching of the Gospel; second, the administration of both bread and wine in the sacrament to the laity; third, the renunciation of temporal power by the priesthood; and fourth, the punishment of sin by properly constituted authority. When it became evident that the prelates would not assent to these propositions, the Hussites withdrew from the council with the statement that any further negotiations with them would have to be carried on in Prague.

After vain wrangling as to what should next be done, it was decided to send a commission after the recusants and try to bring about a settlement. This course was accordingly taken, and the representatives of the Mother Church were obliged to make the concessions demanded by the heretics. In doing so, however, the commissioners managed to add to each of the four propositions of the Hussites certain saving clauses, which were intended to give the Church an opportunity of renouncing her engagement as soon as she should feel sufficiently strong to do so.

The negotiations at Prague had been managed on the side of the Bohemians by the conservative party. The Taborites and the Orphans believing that the treaty had thus been drawn in the interests of their enemies would not accept the settlement. The consequence was that the moderate party now united with the nobles and the Church against the fanatics. A civil war broke out, and for a short season raged with great fury; but in the space of two years the two heretical sects were scattered and exterminated. By the year 1434 the great religious insurrection of Bohemia was at an end, and the sea of papal authority, rolling back into the beds of the convulsion, again washed the ancient shores of Europe.

When the revolt was ended and quiet somewhat restored, the Emperor undertook in person to revive by his presence and counsel the wasted energies of Bohemia. He made a visit to Prague in 1436, and sought to create a reaction in favor of the Empire and the Church; but the Bohemians received him

with little favor. It was not long until a conspiracy was formed for his expulsion from the country, nor was the suspicion wanting that the Empress was a party to the plot. Sigismund hereupon beat a retreat from the land of danger, and returned into Moravia. Here, in 1437, at the city of Znaim, he fell sick and died, taking care that the latter ceremony should be performed in his Imperial robes and chair of state. Of all men the kings of the world have had the least sense of propriety in the presence of death.

In his last hours Sigismund named his son Albert as his successor. For once the electors were of the same opinion as the Emperor. Convening in the spring of 1438, they confirmed the choice of the late sovereign, and the Prince-elect became ALBERT II. At the time of his election he was Duke of Austria. From his father he inherited the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary. He thus found himself in possession of a more complete sovereignty than any of his predecessors since the feudal break-up of society. To him, rather than to Rudolph, the princes of the House of Hapsburg looked as to the founder of that great and long-lived dynasty.

But Albert II. was destined to a brief and undistinguished reign. After his accession his attention was at once drawn to the war with the Turks. Against that aggressive race he organized an expedition; but before any decisive results could be reached he sickened and died in the second year of his reign. His son, Ladislaus, was born after the father's death, and could not well be considered in the Imperial election which followed in 1440.

On convening, the electors chose Frederick of Styria as the successor of Albert. The new sovereign took the title of FREDERICK III.—though that act no doubt cost him an effort; for he was so indolent as to regard with little less than horror all exertion whether of mind or body. The real sovereign was the Imperial secretary, Æneas Sylvius, who was destined in after years to reach the papacy with the title of Pius II. Of course, under the influence of such a minister Frederick became as clay in the hands of the papal potter.

In the mean time the great project of reforming the Church had been constantly agitated. The Council of Basel was still in session. But it was noticeable that the demand for reform was not made by those who needed it, namely, the Popes and bishops. On the contrary, the high ecclesiastics guilty of the abuses complained of, set themselves like flint against all measures by which these abuses might be abolished. When the prelates assembled at Basel would fain have taken some steps towards a real reform Pope Eugenius IV. threatened to excommunicate the whole body. Hereupon the council displayed some spirit by deposing the Pope and choosing Amadeus of Savoy, who took the title of Felix V.

But Eugenius would not abdicate, and a schism broke out which promised any thing else than reform. The council in the main received the support of the secular princes, and Eugenius was about to be compelled to yield the papal crown to his rival. At this juncture, however, Frederick III. appeared on the scene. To be sure, he was no more than an Imperial puppet in the hands of Æneas Sylvius, his minister. The Emperor came as the champion of Eugenius. The Concordat of Vienna was issued in 1448, and its effect was to render null the edicts of the Council of Basel. Felix V., recently elected by that body, was forced to relinquish his pretensions, and the council itself, which had removed its sessions to Lausanne, adjourned in disgust. For *seventeen years* the prelates had been proposing and debating and then proposing again, and were now obliged, after the vain projects of more than half a lifetime, to yield to the mountainous pressure of Rome, and give up all hope of the work for which they had been called together.

Some years before this event, and in no wise connected with it, a violent feud had broken out between Zurich and the other cantons of Switzerland. The quarrel seemed to furnish Frederick III. with the long wished for opportunity to reëstablish Imperial authority over the Swiss. The project, however, met with little favor in Germany, and the Emperor applied to Charles VII. of France for an army. The latter furnished him a force of thirty thousand men, commanded by the Dauphin, and in 1444 the invasion of Switzerland was begun.

In August of that year a mere handful of Swiss, numbering no more than sixteen hundred men, but fired with the audacious patriotism for which the men of the mountains have always been famous, marched forth and opposed themselves to the host of France. At St. James, near the city of Basel, they encountered the overwhelming masses of the enemy. It was a battle of twenty men to one, and the one perished. Not a man of the Swiss remained to tell the story. But so desperate was the courage with which they met the adversary, and so fearful the price at which they sold their lives, that the French army could not recover from the staggering blow. Turning back from an enterprise which it was evident they could not accomplish, the mercenaries of Frederick gave themselves to the more congenial work of pillaging Baden and Alsace.

The effect of this second emancipation of Switzerland by the sword was to encourage the cities of Suabia again to renew the battle for freedom. They rose against their rulers, the subordinate princes of the Empire, and took the field with whatever citizen armies they could extemporize for the conflict. For two years they maintained an unequal struggle with the Counts Frederick of Hohenzollern and Albert Achilles of Brandenburg. In 1450 the war was terminated by the defeat of the allied citizens and the restoration of princely rule over the municipalities. In the next year the Emperor sought a coronation at Rome. The Pope gladly accepted his humble servant, who led the mule of His Holiness through the street on the way to St. Peter's. After a twelve months' sojourn Frederick returned to Aix-la-Chapelle.

ALBERT ACHILLES IN BATTLE WITH THE SUABIANS.

During his absence disturbances had broken out in Hungary and Bohemia, both states making common cause in demanding that Ladislaus, son of Albert II., should be liberated from the half-captivity in which he was held at the Emperor's court. This demand was powerfully supported by the Bohemian

leader, George Podiebrad, and by the great Hungarian, John Hunniades. Under the pressure which they were able to create, the Emperor was obliged to give up Austria to the Prince Ladislaus, who was soon afterwards elected to the throne of Bohemia and Hungary. In 1457, however, the young ruler died. The Hungarians thereupon chose for their king Matthew Corvinus, son of Hunniades, while the Bohemians elected George Podiebrad. Austria, which had reverted to Frederick III., was virtually governed by his brother Albert.

In glancing at the general condition of Germany at the middle of the fifteenth century, we find that Feudalism, which had virtually relinquished its grip in the countries west of the Rhine, or at least the spirit of Feudalism, was still in a measure dominant over political society. Within the limits of the alleged "Empire" were no fewer than three hundred and forty independent principalities. These were dukedoms, bishoprics, counties, abbeys, baronies, and cities. This group of petty powers arranged itself in new combinations at will. When one league had subserved its purpose, another took its place. During the reign of Frederick III., several diets were called, but few attended, and little business was transacted which tended to promote the general interests of Germany.

To this period belongs the history of the second great overthrow of the Teutonic Knights. In proportion as that powerful and half-barbaric Order recovered its energies after the defeat at Tannenberg, it became more oppressive than ever. Intolerable burdens and exactions were laid upon the cities which the Knights governed. The secular nobility were almost as much oppressed as were the people of the towns. At last the country barons who were not members of the Order made a league with the cities, and a revolt broke out against the Knights. The authorities of the Order were obliged to grant new charters or the renewal of the old to the insurgent cities. The latter purchased of Frederick III. the right to exact whatever terms they might be able to dictate to the Knights; but the Knights outbid the citizens in the market of duplicity, and the Emperor withdrew the privilege which he had granted. The cities then appealed to the Poles for assistance, and the Teutonic Order did the same to the Emperor. The Poles were not slow to accept the proffered alliance, but Frederick left the Knights to their fate. They were defeated by the forces of the league, and West Prussia was taken from them and annexed to Poland.

To the latter part of the reign of Frederick III. belongs the history of his relations with Charles the Bold of Burgundy. The career of that audacious prince has already been traced in a preceding chapter. In his ambitious schemes to acquire the territory of his neighbors, and to erect out of the same a kingdom that might rival France and Germany, he was supported and encouraged by Frederick. The next thing seemed to be to unite the Houses of Hapsburg and Burgundy by marriage. With a view to promoting this design a meeting was had between Charles and Frederick in 1473, and it was arranged that the Princess Mary, heiress of Burgundy, should be given in marriage to Maximilian, son of the Emperor. It was unfortunate for the high contracting parties that their conference broke off with jealousy and distrust.

Presently afterwards Frederick III. exhibited his character or want of it by making an alliance with the Swiss as against the hostility of Charles the Bold. The complication led to the signing by the Emperor of what was called the Perpetual Peace with the Swiss, by the terms of which all claims of the Hapsburg princes to the mountain cantons were relinquished. Two years afterwards the great battle of Granson was fought between the mountaineers and the forces of Charles the Bold, and the latter, though outnumbering the Swiss three to one, were totally defeated. Charles presently rallied his forces, and a second battle ensued near the lake of Morat. Again the Burgundians were routed, leaving fifteen thousand dead on the field. These two disasters put a virtual end to the ambitious, almost insane, scheme of the great Burgundian prince. It only remained for the battle of Nancy, fought in the beginning of the following year, to put a period to his audacity and life.

Soon after her father's death, Mary of Burgundy was, according to the compact made

four years previously, married to the Duke Maximilian. The latter thereupon established himself in Flanders; and when Louis XI. attempted to gather up the fragments of Burgundy, repelled him beyond the borders. In 1482 Mary of Burgundy died from the effects of an injury received in a fall from her horse. She left two children, Philip and Margaret, the latter of whom was claimed by the king of France as the future bride of the Dauphin. French influence was again exerted in connection with a party in Flanders to deprive Maximilian of the regency of the country. But the latter defended himself in a war of two years' duration, and in 1485 was accepted by the Flemings as their rightful governor.

Such was the trend of events on the side of Switzerland and Burgundy. In the mean time Matthew Corvinus, king of Hungary, had succeeded in expelling Frederick III. from Vienna. The princes of the Empire were so little touched by this event that they resented not at all the indignities done to their Emperor. In 1486 a diet was convened at Frankfort, and Frederick invoked the aid of the princes against Hungary; but they refused to unite in such a cause. The body, however, performed one important act in the election of Maximilian king of Germany. The latter immediately set his hands to the task of securing the ascendency of his House over Austria. But before that work could be accomplished he was summoned to another part of his dominions by a new revolt of the Flemings.

The aged and imbecile Emperor was now left naked to the contempt of the epoch. As the last resort of weakness he appealed to the free cities of Suabia to aid him in the proper assertion of his Imperial authority. A new league was formed, embracing twenty-two municipalities, and a citizen army was raised to relieve Maximilian, whom the Flemings had captured at Bruges. This joint undertaking of the Emperor and the cities was successful, and in 1489 Maximilian, delivered from prison, was restored to the regency. In the following year Frederick had an interview with Matthew Corvinus, and it was agreed that Austria should be relieved from the domination of the Hungarians. Soon afterwards Corvinus died. Frederick thereupon advanced to Vienna, led an expedition into Hungary, concluded a treaty at Presburg, and was restored to the rights hitherto possessed by the Hapsburg princes.

At this juncture Maximilian met a second reverse of fortune. Being now a widower, he sought the hand of the Princess Anna, heiress of Brittany. The offer was accepted, and the marriage performed by proxy. But before the *real* marriage could be consummated Charles VIII. of France, though himself betrothed to Margaret, daughter of Maximilian, fell politically in love with Anna; and having the right of might, proceeded to marry her out of his rival's hands. The offended Maximilian then made a league with Henry VII. of England; and, supported by the free cities of Suabia, began a war on France. This formidable movement, however, received a serious backset by the refusal of the Netherlanders to support the league. Learning this fact Henry VII. withdrew from the alliance, and in 1493, Maximilian was obliged to conclude a treaty of peace.

Frederick III. was now in his dotage. The government of Germany had been virtually transferred to his son. The Emperor established his residence at Linz, and there gave himself up to piety and alchemic superstitions. It was one part of his daily creed to close the door behind him by thrusting back his right foot. The merit and good fortune of so doing were increased by the violence of the action. On a certain occasion the stiffened and rheumatic Frederick thrust his foot backwards with so much energy as to strain his limb. An inflammation was excited, and amputation became necessary. It was now midsummer, 1493. The Emperor died from the effects of the operation. In the previous October Christopher Columbus had set up the banner of Castile on the beach of San Salvador. It was the dawn of the Modern Era. Here, then, at the accession of MAXIMILIAN I., we take leave, for the present, of the political history of Germany, and turn to that of England. Before doing so, however, failure should not be made to mention an event of startling significance in the annals of the fifteenth century, and of the vastest importance to the progress of human thought and freedom. This was the invention of PRINTING. It is

agreeable to turn from the follies and intrigues of ignorant kings and bigoted pontiffs to that noiseless underdeed of the mind of man, silently working out one of the great problems of civilization.

The stamping of playing cards from

CHARLES VIII. RECEIVES ANNA OF BRITTANY.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

blocks seems to have forerun the art of wood engraving, The latter began to be in vogue as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century. The first application of the art to the printing of books dates to the year 1420, when Lawrence Coster, of Harlem, produced an entire book from wooden blocks, each page constituting a single engraving. To John Gutenberg, of Mayence, however, belongs the honor of having invented *movable* types, and of casting the same of metal. The chief difficulties which impeded his progress were in discovering a suitable compound for the types and in finding an ink that would yield clear impressions. The problem of manufacturing paper from linen had already been overcome in the early part of the preceding century.

The invention of a press for printing followed close after that of the types. The date ascribed to this second step so essential to the multiplication and diffusion of knowledge, is 1440. In this work Gutenberg was assisted by his partner, John Faust. The latter was of a more practical turn and less of an enthusiast than his co-laborer, and the two could not agree. Gutenberg withdrew from the partnership, and Faust took in his place another genius named Peter Schœffer, and the work went on more successfully. Schœffer found out the right combinations for the types, and also succeeded in making a good

DESTRUCTION OF PRINTING PRESSES IN MAYENCE.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

ink. Then the work of printing began in earnest. In 1457 the first printed book appeared, being a psalter in Latin. Four years later a Bible was printed, that also being in Latin. Then in 1463 a German Bible appeared. Considering the difficulties to be overcome in what was at the first so prodigious an undertaking, the excellence, mechanical and literary, of these earliest printed volumes was, and has ever since remained, a marvel. It was evident from the first instance of complete success that the days of manuscript books were ended; for from the first the price of the printed was only about one-tenth as much as that of the written volume.

It was the purpose of the inventors to secure the full advantage of their invention by keeping their work a secret, and in this they succeeded for about five years. In 1462, however, the city of Mayence was taken by Adolph of Nassau, and thus the seal of the mystery was broken by violence. A knowledge of the invention was diffused, and it was not long until the printing-press was doing its beneficent work in Holland, Italy, and England. Thus, in the middle of the fifteenth century, were the means provided for the emancipation of thought and the universal enlightenment of men. To the trembling Belshazzar of Superstition the shadow of the printing-press was the handwriting on the wall which foretokened the subversion of the ancient kingdom of darkness. No wonder, therefore, that the monks, who were the secretaries of this deity, did all in their power to suppress the work of Gutenberg and Faust, and to bar up the gates of the Morning.

CHAPTER XCVII.—ENGLAND IN FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

WHEN the Christian kingdom in Syria was finally subverted, the English throne was occupied by Edward Plantagenet, son of Henry III. The history of his reign has already been given in part in the preceding Book.[1] After the defeat and imprisonment of John Baliol the English king presumed to treat the Scots as vanquished enemies. Earl Warrenne was appointed to the government of the kingdom, and the subordinate officers were distributed to the English as against the Scots. The latter were galled by the position to which they were reduced.

Such was the condition of affairs in the closing years of the thirteenth century. At this juncture the great national hero, William Wallace, appeared on the scene, and undertook the deliverance of his country from the tyranny of the English. Such were his abilities and such was the magnetism of his name that he soon drew to his standard the best elements of Scottish society. The nobles of the North, however, were as little disposed to unite in a common cause as were those of the continent. Quarrels broke out among them, and the progress of the revolution was checked by their dissensions. Nevertheless, Wallace upheld the banner of his country for the space of eight years. At times it appeared that the English would be driven entirely beyond the borders of Scotland; but in the battle of Falkirk, Edward won so complete a victory that the Scottish cause was ruined. With almost unparalleled courage Wallace continued to conflict until 1305, when he was betrayed into the hands of his enemies, by whom he was put to death.

The cause for which Robert Bruce and William Wallace had died was now transmitted to the younger Bruce, also bearing the name of Robert. This prince was not lacking in the qualities of a great leader. He stood as the representative of the national sentiment as against the English, and was crowned by the Countess of Buchanan, a member of that family who had long exercised the right of

[1] See Book Fifteenth, pp. 787, 788.

presiding at the coronation of the Scottish kings.

But the virtue and strength of the North failed in the presence of Edward's army. The Younger Bruce became an adventurer, and was presently driven to find refuge in the fastnesses of the mountains. Still, from these inaccessible strongholds the Scottish patriots

BRUCE WARNED TO FLY FROM LONDON.

continued to make their descents upon their enemies. While on an expedition against the mountain guerrillas Edward sickened and died, in the summer of 1307, being then in the thirty-sixth year of his reign.

There was little danger, however, that the English crown would go a-begging among strangers, for Edward was the father of seventeen children. The throne was immediately claimed by the eldest son of the late monarch, who took the title of Edward II. In the same year of his accession he took in marriage the Princess Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair of France—a union which added nothing to the happiness or prosperity of either kingdom. It was the misfortune of the new sovereign to be guided in public and private affairs by a worthless favorite named Piers Gaveston, whom Edward I. had made his son promise not to recall from banishment. So insolent was the conduct of this barnacle of the kingdom that the nobles made a conspiracy to drive him out of England. Edward was obliged, under the pressure, to pretend to dismiss Gaveston from his council, but instead of sending him away to Gascony, the king gave him a secret commission as Governor of Ireland. A year afterwards he was recalled to resume his old place at the English court.

Hereupon — so great was the anger of the people — a civil war broke out. The earls of Pembroke, Lancaster, and Warwick headed the insurrection, and after some desultory fighting Gaveston and his adherents were captured in Scarborough Castle. It was not to be expected that the culprit who had so mortally offended the English nation would be permitted to escape. His captors led him forth to Blacklow Hill and cut off his head.

The foolish Edward would fain have gone to war with his barons to avenge the death of his worthless favorite, but he durst not undertake so perilous a business. In 1313 he accepted, at their dictation, the peace which they were pleased to offer. The turmoil thus provoked in England gave excellent opportunity to the Scottish patriots to renew the struggle for freedom. The Younger Bruce gained one battle after another until the entire English possessions within the limits of Scotland were reduced to the three castles of Berwick, Stirling, and Dunbar. After the settlement of his troubles with the barons King Edward raised a powerful army, and advanced to the North determined to exterminate the Scots at once and forever. Bruce had mustered his forces, to the number of thirty thousand, at BANNOCKBURN, in the vicinity of Stirling Castle. Here he took a strong position, and made ready to defend himself to the last. He put the river in his front and a bog on either hand. Pits were digged, into which the English cavalry might plunge on the charge. Thus securely posted, the Scots awaited the attack of the overwhelming and confident enemy.

On the morrow the battle was begun by the cavalry commanded by the young Earl of Gloucester, nephew of the king. Before reaching the Scottish lines, the horsemen began to fall into the pits. The leader himself thus perished in the very beginning of the engagement. In a short time the cavalry turned and fled, pursued by the forces of Sir James Douglas. This unexpected retreat threw the English into confusion and a general rout ensued which Edward and his officers were unable to check. In order to escape with his life, the king was obliged to take to flight. The English camp was plundered by the victorious Scots. Edward's forces fled for nearly a hundred miles before they felt themselves secure from the swords of the avenging Scots. So decisive was the victory won by Bruce that he was enabled to take the throne of Scotland.

The effect of such a disaster was not conducive to the fortune of Edward in his own kingdom. Civil strife again broke out, which was fanned into a flame by the king's choice of a new favorite, a certain Hugh Spenser of Wales. The latter soon became as unpopular as Gaveston himself, and the Earl of Lancaster headed a revolt against him. In 1322, however, the earl was overthrown and captured. It was now his turn to receive the full stroke of the vengeance which he had provoked. He was tried, condemned, led out to a hill near his own castle of Pontefract, and there beheaded in the same merciless manner as Gaveston had been ten years previously.

In the history of France the circumstances of the beginning of the long hostility of the

English and French kings has been narrated. It will be remembered that, after the Feudal manner, the province of Guienne was held by the ruler of England. In return for such holding he must do homage to his suzerain, the king of France. As the two kingdoms grew in power and importance such an act became especially distasteful to the Plantagenets, who would fain keep their continental province by some other tenure. In 1325 Queen Isabella was sent by the English king to do homage by proxy to her brother.

It was for the husband an unfortunate mission. The queen was in a frame of mind little calculated to conserve the interests of her liege. As soon as she was in France she entered into a conspiracy with the exiled nobles recently expelled from England for taking part in the Earl of Lancaster's rebellion. A leader of the movement was the unscrupulous Roger Mortimer, who had already been twice pardoned for treason. In 1326 he and the queen returned to England, and Edward, whose absurd partiality for the favorite Spenser had alienated the affections of his subjects, was driven from the throne. He made his escape into Wales, and flattered himself that the people of the West would rise in his favor. But not so. After drifting fugitive for a season he was captured in the monastery of Neath by the young Earl of Lancaster, and imprisoned at Kenilworth. His favorite was taken and put to death.

In the mean time the queen had gained possession of her son Edward, afterwards Edward III., and together with Mortimer had had him proclaimed regent of the kingdom. Of course the real power—for the prince was but fourteen years of age—was in the hands of the queen and her unscrupulous favorite. They proceeded to declare that the imprisoned Edward II. was incapable of governing; and the declaration had the merit of truthfulness, a strange virtue considering the source whence it emanated. They then proclaimed the young Edward king, but the prince, with commendable respect for his unfortunate father, refused to accept the crown while the real king still lived. Hereupon a supple parliament made haste to declare the deposition of Edward II., and sent an embassy to Kenilworth to notify the royal prisoner of his dethronement. The monarch meekly submitted to his fate. Sir Thomas Blount, high steward of the kingdom, broke the scepter, and declared the reign of Edward of Caernarvon at an end.

It is in the nature of such revolutions that the conspirators must fortify their crime with other crimes more criminal. It was clear that while the deposed Edward lived the crown could never rest securely on the head of his son—that the queen and her paramour could never be at heart's-ease. The dethroned monarch was accordingly put into a course of discipline intended to extinguish him in such manner that silent nature might bear the blame. He was given into the keeping of Lords Berkeley, Maltravers, and Gournay, by whom he was to be *cared for* by turns. The first nobleman was more humane than the other two, and Edward was kindly treated while he remained at Berkeley castle; but Maltravers and Gournay omitted no indignity and neglect which were calculated to kill. At last, in the year 1327, he was murdered outright at the castle of Lord Berkeley, during the absence of that worthy man from home. The way was thus opened for the full assumption of the crown by EDWARD III. Being still a mere boy the queen and Mortimer had for a while the management of affairs in their own hands.

The next crime which was deemed expedient by this unroyal pair was the murder of the Duke of Kent, brother of Edward II. Other deeds of similar sort followed, until the patience of the English was exhausted and civil war was threatened; but this calamity was averted by the turning of public attention to affairs on the Scottish border. Robert Bruce, now king of Scotland, sought opportunity in the distracted condition of England to retaliate upon that country for the injuries which his own had suffered at her hands. Supposing that the young son of an unwarlike king would be ill able to sustain a conflict with a veteran like himself, the Scot began a series of hostilities on the northern frontiers of England. But he reckoned without his host. In a short time the English king taught the Bruce that Edward III. was a very different personage from Edward II. King Robert was presently obliged to sue for peace, and to accept the same on terms favorable to England.

Edward now sought marriage. He chose for his queen the Princess Philippa of Hainault, who proved to be in almost every particular the superior of the royal ladies of the century. She was gentle, amiable, and given to charity. The poor of the kingdom came to look upon her as the angel of all good gifts. A stronger contrast could hardly be drawn than that existing between the character, manners, and influence of Philippa and those of the reckless queen mother, Isabella. Nor was the comparison of King Edward with

QUEEN PHILIPPA WITH THE POOR.
After the painting of F. Pauwels.

the princes of his age unfavorable to the former. He was as much of a gentleman and scholar as could be expected in a ruler of his times. To these attainments he is said to have added a pleasing address and a dignified expression of countenance. His moral qualities were fairly good and his courage unquestionable. If ambition could have been considered meritorious, then indeed would Edward III. have been one of the worthiest of mediæval sovereigns. He would rule not only England, but all other realms which he might be able to subdue.

Fortunately or unfortunately for the age, the circumstances existing in the neighboring states were such as to excite rather than allay the ambitious projects which at an early date of his reign gained the mastery of the mind of Edward. In France the three sonless sons of Philip IV. had successively reigned and died. The daughters of these kings were excluded from the throne by the Salic law of France. Should the French crown now go back to the son of Charles of Valois, brother of Philip IV., or might it not rather be transmitted to the son of Isabella, sister of three kings and mother of another? With the death of Charles IV. of France, in 1327, Edward did not hesitate to declare that, though his mother might not *wear*, she might none the less *transmit* the French crown to her son.

It was the peculiarity of the situation that the very foundation of Edward's claim to the French throne was now his weakness. For the queen mother, Isabella, was living with Roger Mortimer at Nottingham Castle, and the twain had rendered themselves so odious to the English nation that the king found it necessary to dispose of them before the people could be induced to enter into his project for the conquest of France. As usual in such cases, the wrath of Edward fell on *him* rather than *her*. After bringing over the governor of Nottinghamshire to his interests and wishes, the English king contrived by means of a subterranean passage to enter the apartment where his mother and Mortimer were. In vain did she plead with her politically angry son. He caused Roger to be seized in her presence, carried a prisoner to Westminster, tried, condemned, and hanged on a gallows at Tyburn. The queen mother was for her part obliged to take up her residence for the rest of her days at Rising—though Edward forbore to treat her with the disrespect which her conduct seemed to merit.

Once freed from the ascendency of the unworthy, the government of Edward rose rapidly in public esteem. He soon found himself so fortified in the confidence of the nation that he felt warranted in beginning his career as a warrior. His first foreign campaign was against the boy David, now king of Scotland. Robert Bruce, the father of the latter, was dead, and the son proved no match (how could he, at the age of seven?) for the English king. In less than a year David was dethroned, and the crown of Scotland conferred on the son of John Baliol, under the protection of Edward.

But this sudden reverse to the patriot party of the Scots was by no means fatal to their hopes. They continued the war in the old way, rallying after each defeat and returning to the conflict. It was not long until the astute Edward perceived the unprofitableness of such a war. The prize was not worth the expenditure. After nearly five years spent in the effort to pacify the men of the North under the rule of the younger Baliol, the English king determined to turn his attention to the more promising field of France. He accordingly equipped an army, and in 1338 proceeded by way of Antwerp to invade the kingdom of Philip VI. But the campaign was checked at the very beginning, and Edward fell back to renew his preparations. After nearly two years spent in equipping a fleet and raising additional forces, he again sailed for the continent. Off Sluys he encountered the French squadron, and against all expectation gained a complete victory. Edward was enabled to land his army and proceed as far as Tournay; but the news came to him of troubles at home, and in 1342 he was induced to accept a truce with Philip in order that he might the better care for the interests of England.

He returned to find the coffers of the kingdom empty and the country disturbed in all her borders. It became necessary for him to mortgage the crown and the queen's jewels in order to secure money, but his energy was

equal to the occasion. As soon as England was somewhat pacified, he began to lay anew his plans for the conquest of France. In 1346 he led over a formidable army into Normandy. His son, the celebrated Black Prince, was next to the king chief in command, and now began to display that military genius for which he was soon to become so conspicuous in the history of his times.

Meanwhile Philip V. prepared to repel the invaders with an army more than three times the number of the English. He marched into Normandy and came to the plain of Crecy. After maneuvering for some days, the two forces came together on that ever memorable field. At the first onset the brunt of the battle fell on the division commanded by the Black Prince, and that valorous warrior was hard-pressed by the French. The king, however, would not go to his relief, confident, perhaps, of the valor of his son, and remarking that he did not wish to deprive him of the honor of victory. It is related that these words of the king were carried to the prince and his soldiers, who thereupon renewed the fight with such audacity that the French were routed from all parts of the field. If the chronicles of the times may be trusted, the French left forty thousand dead and dying men on the bloody plain of Crecy.

For a while Philip was paralyzed by the shock of defeat. Before he could reörganize his forces the English king proceeded to Calais with a view of wresting that stronghold from his adversary. It appeared, however, that the place was impregnable, and Edward was constrained to undertake to accomplish by famine what he had purposed to do by storm. He accordingly invested the city round about and stationed his fleet in the harbor. The citizens of Calais, under the lead of their governor, John de Vienne, prepared for an obstinate resistance. As starvation was the thing to be dreaded, they expelled seventeen hundred of their own people—the aged, the infirm, women, and children—from the city; and these must have perished but for the clemency of Edward, who opened his lines and permitted the houseless exiles to scatter into the country. For eleven months the city was closely invested, and no succor came to the besieged. The defenders of Calais ate their horses, and then subsisted for a season on dogs and cats; but at last all supplies were exhausted, and De Vienne was obliged to capitulate.

King Edward was now exasperated to the last degree, and would hear to nothing in the way of terms except on condition that six of the leading citizens should be led forth barefoot, with ropes about their necks, and be delivered into his hands for execution. The news of this savage condition at first paralyzed the burghers, but when the inhabitants were gathered in a concourse Eustace de Pierre, one of the wealthiest merchants, volunteered to be the first of the victims. He was immediately followed by five other heroes like minded with himself, and the six were led forth to Edward's tent. The relentless king immediately gave orders for their execution; but at the very crisis of their fate Queen Philippa threw herself upon her knees before her irate lord and besought him to spare those who were about to become martyrs to his wrath. In the presence of her sincere and tearful expostulations the heart of the king gave way, and he ordered the prisoners to be released. The heroic burghers who had laid their lives on the altar of the city's safety were taken to the queen's tent, fed and consoled, and sent back to Calais. The city was immediately given up to the English, and on the 4th of August, 1347, Edward took possession of the coveted prize. To make assurance doubly sure that he should be able to retain what had cost him so much toil and vexation, he compelled the inhabitants of Calais to seek other homes, and then repeopled the city with the English.

Meanwhile the Younger Bruce had continued the war for the Scottish crown. An army was raised during Edward's absence in France, and an invasion of England begun. The English king sent Philippa back to his capital to defend the realm against the aggressive Scots. An English army was sent to the northern border, and the defeated Bruce was taken prisoner near Durham, and afterwards shut up for safe keeping in the Tower of London. The queen herself, as soon as the insurgents were certainly overthrown, hastened across the Channel to carry the good news to her husband, at that time engaged in the siege of Calais.

Now it was that the great plague known as the Black Death, caught perhaps from some polluted precinct of the East, spread its terrible ravages over Western Europe. France suffered in full measure from the horrors of this pestilence. The operations of war were

QUEEN PHILIPPA INTERCEDING FOR THE BURGHERS OF CALAIS.
Drawn by A. de Neuville

suspended to make way for a still more dreadful scourge. For six years after the capture of Calais by the English, Edward was obliged to desist from his attempt to snatch the French crown from the House of Valois. Before he was able to resume his projects of conquest, Philip VI. died, and the throne of France was taken by his son John, surnamed the Good. Two years afterwards, namely in 1352, the war broke out afresh. An account of the struggle which ensued during the next four years has already been given in a preceding chapter of the present Book.[1] Suffice it to say that the victorious Black Prince made his name a terror through all the borders of France. In midsummer of 1356 he marched from Bordeaux with an army of twelve thousand men, and in a campaign of two months' duration devastated the country to within a few miles of the ancient battlefield of Poitiers. Meanwhile King John had equipped an army numbering sixty thousand, and come forth to overwhelm his enemies. But the disparity of five to one daunted not the spirit of the fierce Plantagenet, who had inherited that strange mixture of courage and audacity for which his great ancestors were famous in the times of the Holy Wars.

On the 17th of September the two armies pitched their camps but a mile apart. In vain did the Pope's legate, Perigorde, ride back and forth between the king and the prince, endeavoring to prevent a battle. As for the English commander, he was very willing to accept such honorable terms as one generous foe was wont to grant to another. But King John, believing that the lion's whelp was now ginned in a trap from which he could not escape, would hear to nothing other than the dispersion of the English forces and the giving up to himself of the prince and a hundred of his knights to be detained as prisoners in France. Such a condition was indignantly rejected by the English leader; the legate gave over his endeavors, and the two armies made ready for battle.

With the morning of the 19th the conflict began. The French forces were arranged in three divisions. The attack of the first two was irregularly made; the assailants became first confused, then alarmed, and then terrified. A panic ensued, for which, although the English had already dealt a serious loss upon the enemy, there was no adequate occasion. Breaking from the field in disorderly masses, the first and second divisions rolled away in a rout, and the whole brunt of the battle fell upon the third division, commanded by the king and his son Philip. The French now fought desperately to retrieve the day; but the oriflamme of France tottered and fell before the invincible valor of the sturdy English, who had made up their minds to conquer or die. The French king displayed great valor, and not until his three best generals were killed did he give over the conflict. He was surrounded, overwhelmed, captured, and for the moment his life was endangered by the turbulent soldiers, who clamored for possession of the royal prisoner. The Black Prince, learning that the king was taken, sent the Earl of Warwick to bring him safely to his tent, where Plantagenet received him with all the courtesy which a true knight was expected to show to a fallen enemy.[1]

In April of the following year the Black Prince conveyed his prisoners to London. Great was the spectacle. The citizens of the metropolis poured out by thousands to see the captive king of France, clad in royal robes, riding beside the grim Prince of Wales, who had brought him home as a trophy. At Westminster the train was met by King Edward, who embraced his fellow monarch as though in sympathy with his misfortunes. England was thus possessed of three kings—her own, David Bruce of Scotland, and John the Good. As to the Bruce, he was soon afterwards set at liberty and permitted to return to Scotland.

An indescribable confusion followed the captivity of the French king. A regency was established in France under the Dauphin; but he was little able to stay the tide of calamity, and was presently obliged to make a treaty with Edward, ceding to that monarch several provinces, including the city of Bordeaux, where the Black Prince established his

[1] See *ante*, p. 67.

[1] It is narrated that when the Black Prince had ordered for his royal prisoner the finest supper which the English camp could afford, he himself would not sit in King John's presence, but persisted in standing behind his chair, serving and soothing the crestfallen monarch as best he might.

capital. One of the first things to be attended to was to determine the ransom of King John. This was presently fixed at the enormous sum of three millions of crowns. It was also agreed that forty French noblemen should be put in pawn for the payment of the stipulated amount. After many delays and prevarications, and tortuous endeavors to obtain other and more favorable terms, the treaty was at last ratified, and in the autumn of 1360 Edward accompanied his brother king to Calais, where John was set at liberty. The government of the provinces acquired by treaty from France was assigned to the Prince of Wales, who repaired to Bordeaux accompanied by his wife, the Princess Joan, daughter of the Duke of Kent.

It has already been recounted how the Duke of Anjou, one of the French hostages, made his escape from Calais and refused to return. It soon appeared, moreover, that the Dauphin was little disposed to fulfill in good measure the terms of the settlement. In vain did the chivalrous King John insist that his subjects should observe the stipulations by which he had obtained his liberty. Finding that they would not, and that his honor was about to be smirched, he returned to England and gave himself up to Edward. Nor have after times failed to bestow a just measure of applause upon the representative of the House of Valois who prized his faith above his freedom. It was not long, however, until the treaty-keeping king fell sick at the palace of Savoy, where his constrained residence was established, and there died in the year 1364.

The story of the imbroglio in which the Black Prince became involved with Henry of Trastamare need not be repeated.[1] It is sufficient, in this connection, to note the fact that after the defeat and death of Pedro the Cruel, king of Castile, his two daughters, the Princesses Constantia and Isabella, fled for refuge to the court of the Black Prince at Bordeaux, and there became his sisters-in-law by the marriage of the first to John of Gaunt and of the other to the Duke of York, both sons of Edward III. Thus began the affinities between the royal families of England and Spain.

The Black Prince returned from his Spanish campaigns in broken health. He grew constantly worse, and the English nation was obliged to witness the shattered form of its favorite warrior tottering helplessly to the grave. He died in 1376; nor could it well be said whether the people or the king was more deeply grieved at the calamity. Such was the shock to the already aged and infirm Edward that he survived his son's death less than a year. After a reign of a little more than fifty years he died at the palace of Shene on the 1st of June, 1377. The crown descended to Richard, son of the Black Prince, who took the title of Richard II.

Several events of the reign of Edward III., less conspicuous but perhaps more important than his wars, may well be noticed in the history of his times. The establishment of the Order of the Knights of the Garter is ascribed to him as the founder. The division of the English Parliament into the two houses of Lords and Commons was effected under his auspices. Still more important was the substitution of the new English language for Norman French, which for three hundred years had been the official language of the kingdom. The change had been begun as early as the reign of Henry III., one of whose proclamations is generally regarded as the earliest specimen of what may be properly called English. During the reigns of the two Edwards I. and II. the transformation had made slow progress; but about the middle of the reign of the Third Edward the new tongue appeared in the laws and public documents of the kingdom, and Norman French rapidly fell into disuse. In 1356 Sir John Mandeville, returning from his travels in the East, composed an account of his journeys first in Latin and then in Norman French; but finding that neither tongue any longer appealed to the unresponsive ear of England, he rewrote his treatise in her own new language, and this work is generally regarded as the first book in English.

King Edward contributed to the buildings of his times the castle of Windsor and the new chapel of St. Stephen at Westminster. The latter became the meeting-place of the House of Commons, and continued to be so until the present century, when it was destroyed in a conflagration. Another important fact attributed to the reign of Edward was the

[1] See *ante*, p. 81.

introduction of fire-arms in battle. It is believed that the first occasion of the use of gunpowder by the English was in the battle of Crecy in 1356.

Richard II., the new sovereign of England, who on the death of his grandfather in 1377 came to the throne of England, was a prince unfitted by nature for the duties of so great a trust. It was his misfortune, moreover, to come into power under the protection and guardianship of three uncles, of whom John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, was the most ambitious and unscrupulous. From the first his influence in the affairs of the kingdom became predominant, and he would fain make war, conduct campaigns, and conclude treaties after the manner of his father. But he had not his father's abilities, and it was not long until the kingdom began to feel the disastrous effects arising from the rule of a nominal king controlled by an ambitious nobleman.

In the year 1381 the lower classes of the English people were excited to disloyalty and rebellion by a poll tax levied on all persons above the age of fifteen years. Though the tax was but a shilling a head, it was an excessive burden, for the purchasing power of money was at that time perhaps ten times as great as at the present. It happened that, while this odious tax was being collected at the town of Deptford, one of the collectors was killed in a riot. A crowd of people gathered in the excitement and put themselves under the leadership of a certain Walter, who was gate-keeper or *tyler* of the town. He soon discovered great capacity in raising and commanding the rabble. Under the name of Wat Tyler he drew to his banner in Blackheath a vast mob numbering three hundred thousand men. With a fellow leader known by the name of Jack Straw he organized his angry host as well as might be and set out for London. At this time John of Gaunt and the Duke of Gloucester were absent from the kingdom, and the weak Richard II. stood trembling like a reed before the gathering tempest.

No adequate preparations were made to keep the forces of the insurgents out of the city. At the first noise of their approach the king, with the royal family and a few nobles, sought refuge in the Tower, and the rebels gained undisputed possession of the city. Then followed a reign of lawless violence, the like of which had not been seen since the days of the Danes. After King Riot had for some days kept carnival in London, Richard II., with commendable courage, went forth unarmed from the Tower and sought an interview with the insurgents. He demanded of them that they should state their request, in order that he might know their grievance and supply their wants. The mob replied that they would have freedom for themselves and their children. To this the king assented, and thirty secretaries were appointed to write out charters for the various municipalities represented by the insurgents. With this concession the larger part of the rebels dispersed to their homes; but Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, having had a taste of excess and license, could not be pacified. With extreme audacity, they broke into the Tower and killed the Archbishop of Canterbury and the High Chancellor of the kingdom; but the career of the desperate guerrilla was now destined to a speedy end. On the day after the assault on the Tower the king and the Lord Mayor of the city, with their attendants, were passing through Smithfield and were met by the insurgents, twenty thousand strong. Wat Tyler rode up to Richard and began to offer him insults. Whereupon the Lord Mayor dashed upon him with drawn sword and thrust him through the body. The mob was like any other huge animal whose head has been cut off with a blow. Its power of action and volition was gone.

The king, with a presence of mind and courage not to have been expected in one who had displayed so many weaknesses, rode boldly among the rebels and exclaimed in a calm voice, "My friends, be not concerned for the loss of your unworthy leader; I will be your leader;" and turning his horse he suited the action to the word by putting himself in Wat Tyler's place. This presence of mind on the part of Richard succeeded to admiration. The multitude, with its usual fickleness, turned and followed the king. At this juncture, however, a vast throng of loyal citizens, hearing a false report that Richard had been slain by the rebels, rushed forth from the city to fall upon the insurgents, who, seeing themselves about to be cut down, fell

humbly before the king and besought his pardon. The mild temper of the monarch sought not to take advantage of the defeated mob or to destroy what was no longer dangerous. Pardon was freely granted, and the revolt was at an end.

DEATH OF WAT TYLER.
Drawn by L. P. Leyendecker.

The immediate effect was to heighten greatly the esteem in which Richard was held by his subjects. It soon appeared, however, that his recent display of courageous virtue had been pressed out by the emergency, and that his moral nature was exhausted by the sudden drain. His unkingly qualities again became conspicuous, and his disqualification for the work of governing was more and more manifest. A short time after the suppression of Wat Tyler's rebellion the king revoked the charters which he had granted, and that state of half-serfdom called *villanage*, under which the English had groaned since the days of the Conquest, was restored. Meanwhile the king's uncle, the Duke of Lancaster, continued to prosecute his schemes of ambition. His marriage with Constantia, daughter of Pedro the Cruel of Castile, and the usurpation of the Castilian crown by Henry of Trastamare, furnished old John of Gaunt with an admirable pretext for claiming the throne made vacant by the death of his father-in-law.

But in order to prosecute this claim it was necessary that Lancaster should be supported by the soldiers and money of England. Such was his ascendency in the kingdom that a large army was raised without much difficulty, and in 1386 the ambitious duke left England to lay claim to the throne of Castile. That royal seat was at this time occupied by the son of Henry of Trastamare, who, refusing to join battle with the English who had invaded his realm, awaited their extermination by the same agencies which had proved fatal to the Black Prince and his army—pestilence and famine. Without being able to bring his antagonist to a decisive battle, Lancaster wasted his resources in petty conflicts and unimportant campaigns. At last he chose to adopt a new policy, and made overtures to the Prince of Trastamare for a settlement of their respective claims. It was agreed that one of the daughters of Lancaster should be given in marriage to the Castilian prince and another to the king of Portugal. Having thus prepared the way for the assumption of royalty by his posterity, John of Gaunt gave over his conquest in the South, and in 1389 returned to England.

On arriving in that realm he found the affairs of state in the last degree of confusion. The king had abused his prerogatives. Parliament in its extreme displeasure had seized and imprisoned the king's favorite, Michael de la Pole. Richard himself had been obliged to agree to an act establishing a regency; but in this instance the regent was not one but many.

Fourteen nobles were appointed to manage the kingdom, and Richard, though not formally deposed, was virtually deprived of his right to rule. At the head of this opposition stood Thomas, duke of Gloucester. It became his policy to take away the last prop of the tottering Plantagenet by destroying the few friends who still adhered to his fortunes. Even the venerable Sir Simon Burleigh, who had taught Richard in his youth, was cut down without mercy. All of the king's favorites were destroyed, with the exception of De la Pole and a few others, who fled into foreign lands.

Before the return of Lancaster from Spain the battle of Otterburn had been fought between the English and Scots. The engagement was indecisive, but Lord Douglas was slain and Henry Percy, known as Hotspur in Shakespeare's drama, fell into the hands of the enemy. At length the English king, finding himself in a condition as intolerable as death itself, suddenly aroused himself in a fit of desperation and renounced the authority of his arrogant uncles. For the moment the Duke of Gloucester was paralyzed by this sudden display of reviving spirit on the part of the king; but he retired to the castle of Pleshy, and that place soon became the head-quarters for the malcontents of the kingdom.

A plot was now formed for the seizure of Richard and his deposition from the throne. The king, however, had the good fortune to fathom the schemes of his enemies, and instead of being arrested himself he caused his uncle Gloucester to be seized and carried a prisoner to Calais. The Earls of Warwick and Arundel were also taken and imprisoned in the Tower. A Parliament was called, articles of accusation were prepared against Gloucester and his associates, and a day was fixed for the duke's trial. But when the appointed time arrived the intelligence was given to the august court that Gloucester had *died* in his prison at Calais. The news was founded

in fact, but lacked to perfect truthfulness the additional clause that Richard Plantagenet had been privy to his uncle's death.

The year 1398 was marked by an event illustrative of the character of royalty in the closing years of the fourteenth century. Young Henry Bolingbroke, son of the Duke of Lancaster, quarreled with the Duke of Norfolk. The matter between them was a charge made by the latter that the king had procured the murder of Gloucester. This insinuation Henry resented, and the king decided that the question should be determined after the mediæval fashion by single combat between the parties. A day was accordingly appointed, and a great concourse, including Parliament and many of the chief nobles of the kingdom, was gathered to witness the decision. When the crisis came, however, the uneasy king, on whose cause Henry Bolingbroke had staked his life, interfered, forbade the combat, and gave sentence of banishment against Norfolk for life and his own champion for ten years. Such was the administration of justice when the sun of chivalry was setting in the West.

In the following year the Duke of Lancaster died. Henry, his son, was in exile, and Richard thus found opportunity to seize his uncle's estates. Such an outrage aroused all the animosity of Henry's character. Being then in France, he appealed to the Duke of Brittany to aid him in recovering his patrimony. The duke was not slow to render the desired assistance, and ships and men were soon equipped for the expedition. Early in July of 1399 Henry and his confederates landed at Ravensburgh in Yorkshire. The defense of the kingdom had been intrusted to the indolent Duke of York, for the king himself had been obliged to go to Ireland to suppress a revolt in that already turbulent island. Such was the discontent in the kingdom that many of the leading nobles, including the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, abandoned the cause of Richard and went over to Bolingbroke. The Duke of York himself was so thoroughly disaffected that, after some brief persuasions judiciously insinuated by Henry, he too joined his fortunes to the aspiring banner of Lancaster. So widespread was the defection that when Richard returned from Ireland he found himself virtually abandoned, and was constrained to lead off his few adherents in the direction of Conway.

In a short time the king agreed to an interview with Bolingbroke, who coolly led him away to London and imprisoned him in the Tower. The fallen monarch was obliged to sign an agreement to relinquish at once and forever the crown of England. This compact between the loving cousins was laid before Parliament, and that body formally deposed Richard from the throne and conferred the crown on Bolingbroke, who took the title of HENRY IV. As for the captive Richard, he, like his uncle the Duke of Gloucester, *died* in Pontifract Castle, to which he was transferred for sake keeping. But the circumstances of his taking-off were never divulged.

JOHN WICKLIFFE.
From the Luther statue in Worms.

In this connection it is proper to refer to what may be called the antecedents of the Reformation in England. Among the personal agents by whom the movement was begun the first place must be assigned to JOHN DE WICKLIFFE, a scholarly and virtuous priest of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire. He was born in Yorkshire in 1324, and lived to the age of sixty, being a contemporary of Edward III. At this period in the religious history of England the various monastic orders had so encroached upon the parish priests that the latter were well-nigh crushed under the weight. Wickliffe did not hesitate to denounce the abuses and corruptions which had arisen in the Church, and to reject as false many of her doctrines. He also openly advocated the rendition of the Scriptures into

the language of the people, though in this advocacy he was bitterly opposed by the whole ecclesiastical power of the kingdom. It was his good fortune, however, to have the support of John of Gaunt and many other nobles of the laity, who were themselves tired of the domination of the monastic orders. In 1380 Wickliffe set about the translation of the Bible into English, and in the course of a few years the work was completed. The bishops now undertook to suppress what they had not been able to prevent. A bill for that purpose was brought forward in Parliament, but John of Gaunt and Lord Percy secured its rejection. The Church party had the mortification of retiring from the contest defeated, and the Lollards, as Wickliffe's followers were called, kept their English Bible.

The reign of Edward III. was also noted as the birth-time of English literature. In the red dawn of that far morning appeared the immortal Chaucer, whose song from among the trees of Woodstock has lost none of its sweetness after the lapse of six hundred years. John Gower, also, and Robert Langlande added their treasures to the literary and poetic wealth of their own and after times.

It was in the last year of the fourteenth century that Henry of Lancaster, by the deposition and death of his cousin, seated himself on the throne of England. In this accession was laid the foundation of one of the most complicated and bloody dynastic struggles known in history. The family of Edward III. stood thus: Edward, the Black Prince, the eldest son, and his only son were both dead. The second son of Edward died without heirs. The third son, Lionel, duke of Clarence, left a daughter, Philippa, through whom the rights of her father were transmitted through her son Roger to Edmund Mortimer, now earl of March. The fourth son was John of Gaunt, whose son Henry had now taken the throne of England as against his second cousin, Edmund Mortimer. That is to say, the son of an elder son, descended through the female line, was displaced by the son of a younger son through an all-male line of descent. Here was already a sufficiently obvious ground for a conflict. But the case was destined soon to become still more complicated; for the Earl of Cambridge, the male heir of Edmund, duke of York, fifth son of Edward III., took in marriage his cousin Anne, heiress of Roger Mortimer, grandson, as above said, of Lionel, third son of Edward. That is to say, the claims of the third son through the female line were united by this marriage with the claims of the fifth son through an all-male line, as against the claims of the male heirs of the fourth son, the Duke of Lancaster. To the Earl of Cambridge and the Princess Anne was born a son, who was made Duke of York, and who represented in himself the combined rights of the third and fifth heirs of Edward III., as above defined. Such was the foundation of the celebrated family quarrel between the Houses of York and Lancaster—a feud which was destined to rend England in twain, and pour out her best blood in support of dynastic theories, about which the New Era of Liberty would not concern itself so much as the toss of a penny.[1]

From the very first Henry IV. was beset with enemies. In the second year of his reign an attempt was made on his life by some unknown foe who concealed in the king's bed a three-pointed instrument of steel. Soon afterwards a formidable revolt broke out headed by Owen Glendower of Wales. This nobleman had been unjustly suspected of disloyalty to the Lancastrian revolution, and his estates had been seized and given to Lord Grey de Ruthyn. Hereupon Glendower took up arms, proclaimed himself Prince of Wales, rallied his countrymen, and for seven years bade defiance to the king. In 1402 the Scots under Earl Douglas also rose and invaded England with ten thousand men. The Earl of Northumberland and his fiery son Hotspur, were sent forth against the enemy, and the Scots were disastrously defeated in the battle of Homildon Hill. Douglas and most of the Scottish leaders were taken prisoners.

When King Henry heard of the success of his arms with a sudden impulse of impolicy he sent messengers to Northumberland forbidding him to accept a ransom for his prisoners. This strange and illiberal proceeding angered the earl and his son to such a degree that they resolved to make an alliance with the very enemy whom they had defeated and

[1] For the rival claims of York and Lancaster, see Diagram, Book Twenty-second, *seq.* p. 275.

drive the ungrateful Henry from the throne of England. A league was accordingly concluded between the Northumberlands and Douglas on one side and Glendower on the other; so that in a short time the English king saw the red flame of war shooting high on all the northern and western frontier of his realm.

But Henry lacked not for courage. Anticipating the movements of his enemies he pressed forward rapidly to SHREWSBURY, and there in July of 1403 the two armies of nearly equal strength met in deadly conflict. For several hours the battle raged with the greatest fury. Nor was it easy to predict on whose banner would rest the victory. The English forces were commanded by the king and Prince Henry, his oldest son. The former had commanded several of his body-guard to put on armor like his own so that he might not be easily distinguished by the enemy. The precaution was well taken, for Earl Douglas, who had staked all on the issue, eagerly sought to reach the king in person. It is narrated that he actually slew several of Henry's attendants, thinking each to be the king. At last Douglas himself was taken, Hotspur was killed, and the Scots defeated.

The report of the battle showed that of the twenty-eight thousand men engaged six thousand lay dead on the field. The Earl of Northumberland little recked of his own life since his favorite son was slain. In profound dejection and grief he gave up the conflict, dismissed his soldiers, and retired to Warkworth castle. Henry, with what was for him unusual magnanimity, proclaimed a pardon to all who would submit. Northumberland yielded and was presently restored to his estates.

After the battle of Shrewsbury the star of Glendower also declined. His forces were gradually wasted. Only the mountainous character of the country in which he planted himself stood between him and extermination. By 1408 the rebellion had dwindled to a shadow. Glendower retreated from one fastness to another and finally became a fugitive. Abandoned by his friends and supporters he wandered from place to place until 1415, when he died at the house of his daughter in Herefordshire.

In the mean time Henry had become involved in another war with his English subjects. Scroop, archbishop of York, and Earl Mowbray, justly offended at the tyrannous exactions of the king, headed an insurrection, and encamped with fifteen thousand men on Skipton Moor. The proud old Earl of Northumberland was expected to join the insurgents, against whom the king sent out Ralph Neville with an army. Sir Ralph soon showed himself to be an instrument well fitted for any piece of royal treachery. Fearing to make an attack upon the rebels at Skipton, he resorted to a scheme worthy of one of the Caliphs of Cairo. He invited Archbishop Scroop and Mowbray to his tent to state the grievances of which they and their fellows complained. These were frankly stated, and Neville agreed that every wrong should be righted and every cause of offense removed. He also suggested that since a friendly settlement had thus been happily reached between the king and his loving subjects, both he—Neville—and Scroop should disband their respective armies. To this the unsuspecting archbishop consented, and issued orders accordingly. Sir Ralph also pretended to make a like order to his men, but he took care that the same should not be delivered. On the contrary, he sent word to his generals, as soon as the Scottish camp should be broken up, to swoop down on Scroop and the other leaders still in conference at Neville's tent, and make them prisoners. The scheme was carried out with diabolical accuracy; and just when Scroop, Mowbray, and the rest were expecting to see the English tents struck, as their own had been, they were themselves seized by a company of cavalry and borne away captive to Pontefract Castle. Here they were subjected to the mockery of trial, condemned as traitors, and beheaded. Even the Archbishop of York was executed like a common malefactor. Neville had *succeeded!*

The murder of his friends gave warning to the Earl of Northumberland, and he sought to save himself by a flight into Scotland. Afterwards he went to Wales, but there was no place where he might lay his head in safety. Finally, returning into his own earldom, he cast all on the hazard of another revolt: but he was too weak to cope with the

powerful arm of Lancaster. After a brief resistance he was overthrown and slain in the battle of Bramham Moor.

Meanwhile the House of Bruce had given place to the House of Stuart on the throne of Scotland. The founder of the latter was Robert Stuart, whose mother was a sister of David Bruce. The latter left no children, and when in 1390, Robert Stuart died, his eldest son came to the Scottish throne with the title of ROBERT III. His brother became Duke of Albany, and showed a temper most dangerous to the interests of Scotland. He procured the death of his brother's elder son, and would have sent the younger by the same way had not the father committed the care of the youth to the Earl of Orkney, with instructions to convey him to France. A ship was fitted out for the voyage, but was captured by an English cruiser and brought in as a prize. Henry was greatly elated. Prince James was committed to the Tower for safe-keeping, and Scotland was left to the distractions and broils incident to a regency under the Duke of Albany; for Robert died when he heard of the capture of his son.

The heir to the Scottish throne was ten years of age at the time of his imprisonment. It seems not to have been Henry's purpose to destroy him, but merely to detain him in captivity, awaiting what turn soever in Scottish affairs might give himself an advantage over that country. This, indeed, was a favorite policy with the kings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. To take each other prisoner, and to leave the kingdom of the captive to fall to pieces in the absence of the sovereign, seemed the very height of statecraft. In the present instance King Henry appointed competent tutors for Prince James, and ordered that his education should be in all respects such as befitted a scion of royalty. It appears that James responded aptly to his instruction. His mind was bright, even creative. He became a poet, a scholar, a musician. For eighteen years he remained in England, and only returned to his own country when the Duke of Albany died. With that event the people paid the ransom which was demanded for their prince, and he was set at liberty. On coming to the throne of his father he at once displayed the excellence of his character. The fifteen years of his reign were among the best ever enjoyed by the kingdom prior to the union with England in 1603.

The courage, persistency, and unscrupulous policy of Henry had now cleared the field of his enemies. Douglas was dead; Glendower was dead; Scroop was dead. The Mortimers stirred not. Rebellion lay quiet in his cave. But it was the fate of Henry to suffer what his foes could not inflict. His countenance became disfigured with a vile eruption, and the people said it was the brand of heaven's wrath on the murderer of an archbishop. Epilepsy came on, and ever and anon the royal Lancaster fell down after the manner of a common beggar, and rolled in the unconscious horrors of a spasm. They of his own house added to his sorrow. Prince Henry, his eldest son, who had been his pride in battle, became a thorn in his side. Never was such a scapegrace born to the inheritance of a crown. Never was there a more valiant youth when he buckled on his sword. Audacious, reckless, the boon companion of thieves and pads, he nevertheless was capable of rousing himself in the day of danger and alarm, and of more than redeeming his forfeited fame by the splendor of his courage. But in the sluggish days of peace he who was destined to be Harry V. of England was the very bane and scandal of his father's court. At one time he was caught in company with his *friend*, one of the outlaws of London, whom, when about to be condemned in court, the prince drew his sword and attempted to rescue. Hereupon Chief Justice Gascoigne sent the valiant Hal to the prison of the King's Bench until his ardor should cool. On another occasion, believing the king to be dead in a fit, the dutiful prince took the crown of England from his father's bed-side and carried it out of the room. The king, recovering from his swoon, missed the royal gewgaw, and the ambitious youth was obliged to bear it back and make an apology for his haste.

Under these various griefs Henry of Lancaster gradually sank to the grave. His last days were passed in pilgrimages back and forth between the palace and Edward the Confessor's chapel in Westminster, where he did his devotions. Here, in the spring of

1413, while engaged in religious services after the manner of decrepitude grown pious, he was struck with the death-spasm and borne away to die. The scene closed, and HENRY V., the second of the Lancastrians, came to the throne.

It was during the reign of Henry IV. that English martyrdom for opinion's sake began. It is impossible to enter upon this horrid theme without a shudder. In our age men are affected in various degrees—according to their temperament and love of life—by the recollection of the awful mutilation of human nature which has been done in the name of religion. In the breast of the historian such things are likely to awaken a peculiar repugnance. If any thing could embitter his temper and infect his mind with pessimism and despair, it would be the inhuman story with which he is, alas, too familiar, and for which so many would fain apologize. About the beginning of the fifteenth century, Smithfield was first lighted with the glare of living torches.

For the Wickliffites would not recant. Archbishop Arundel of Canterbury undertook to stamp out the Lollard heresy, and adopted the fagot as his argument. The heretics had denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. They had renounced their faith in indulgences. They had said that the Church was a sepulcher full of dead men's bones. What, therefore, should be done unto these miserable wretches who had arrayed themselves against the fundamental principles of good government and holy doctrine? Burn them. A certain Lollard named Badby was caught and condemned to be burned alive. He was taken by his executioners to Smithfield. A stake was driven in the ground. To this the victim was tied and the wood was piled around him. When the torch was about to be applied, the scapegrace Prince of Wales, with a better heart than his age, dashed up on horseback and besought the condemned man to recant his doctrines. No; he would not. He would rather be burned to death. The prince offered him his life and liberty if he would yield. No. He would give him a comfortable living for the rest of his days if he would say the word. No. He would be his friend and benefactor if he would give the Holy Church a chance to save his life. No. The torch was applied and the flames soon choked the dying supplications of the heroic Wickliffite. It was only one of many such scenes soon to be witnessed on the horrid sod of Smithfield.

The English people have always admired courage, audacity; a certain reckless immorality of patriotism in their kings. These qualities were present in the highest measure in the prince who now inherited the crown of England. He had will, persistency, the spirit of power under a brusque demeanor. He possessed, also, the rare ability of self-reform. He quickly perceived that an emergency had come with his father's death, and that he must shake himself from the dust. This he did on the first assumption of the crown. He dismissed the ignoble companions with whom he had spent a large part of his life, and gave his whole energy to the duties of his kingly station.

A sound policy was adopted. Henry, well remembering that his title was defective, chose to be generous. Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, who was now the representative of the line of the Duke of Clarence, was at once released from prison and restored to honor. The son of Harry Hotspur was called home from banishment and reëstablished in all the rights of the Percys. The bones of Richard II., which had thus far lain in the Langley burying-ground, were brought to Westminster and reïnterred with royal honors. In short, the king omitted no reasonable effort to quiet the kingdom by acts of moderation and justice.

He soon had his reward. In the second year of his reign some plotters set on foot a scheme to dethrone him and raise Mortimer to the throne; but the loyal earl, though his right to be king was fully as good as Henry's, went to his liege and divulged the conspiracy. The tiger's claws were now thrust forth, and the leaders of the plot were put to death.

The one blot upon the first years of Henry's reign was his appearance in the rôle of persecutor. One of the most distinguished of the Lollards of this time was Lord Cobham, who to great virtues added great learning. Henry, thinking to convert so eminent a personage from error, sought a conference with him, and earnestly argued against the

heresy which Cobham had adopted. But to the king's astonishment he found the noble lord so fortified at every point as to be invulnerable. It was under his *own* feet that the sand of doctrine seemed slipping away. In vain he expostulated; then threatened. Cobham would yield in nothing. Hereupon the angry Henry turned him over to an assembly of bishops to be tried for his errors. There was no uncertainty as to what *they* would do with him. He was condemned and imprisoned in the Tower. Shortly afterwards, however, he made his escape, and in 1417 sought refuge in Wales. A rebellion presently broke out in that country and Cobham's enemies pointed to him as the cause. He was hunted down, tried, condemned, and burnt alive.

The deplorable condition of France in the times of the insane Charles VI. has already been noted in a preceding chapter. The dukes of Orleans and Burgundy at the head of their respective parties devastated the country. The circumstances were precisely such as to favor foreign intervention by a king ambitious for the aggrandizement of his own realm at the expense of his neighbors. Henry V. was not slow to perceive the advantages which might be gained by an aggressive policy toward France. In the first place, it was necessary for him to revive the old but not groundless claim of Edward III. to the French crown. Then followed the raising and equipment of an army of thirty thousand men, at the head of which in the year 1415 the king crossed the Channel and entered the dominion of Charles. So profoundly were the French factions engaged in their internecine strife that they perceived not the danger until the foreign foe was upon them. Before it could be decided who should command the armies of France, Henry had besieged and captured the city of Harfleur. At length, however, the French forces were organized, and set out, a hundred thousand strong, under command of the Duke of Orleans.

Meanwhile the English army was almost destroyed by the excessive heat of the summer in France and by diseases induced by various kinds of intemperance in food and drink. Perhaps not more than one-third of Henry's forces were able for active duty in the field. Nevertheless, the English king, with a valor which would have done credit to the elder Plantagenet, set out to meet the enemy.

The march of the army to Agincourt, where it arrived in October, was in every respect salutary. The health of the soldiers was improved by the removal from Harfleur. Thorough discipline was observed, and the personal conduct of the king towards his men was such as to inspire them with a belief in his and their own invincibility. Once encamped at Agincourt, Henry sent out a spy to discover the number of the French. "There are enough to fight, enough to be killed, and enough to run away," said the witty messenger on his return.

When the two armies had pitched their camps over against each other, Henry spent a good part of the night in choosing his ground, arranging his forces, and reconnoitering the position of the enemy. But he took care that the soldiers should be thoroughly rested before morning. On the other side the French passed the night in rioting and uproar. It was evident that they believed themselves masters of the situation, able and ready to extinguish the English army at a blow.

Very different from the conduct of his father at Shrewsbury was that of King Henry, who was now in his element. As if to make his tall form still more conspicuous, he clad himself in a suit of shining armor and put on a crown of gold. Thus equipped he rode along his thin but dauntless lines, speaking familiarly with the soldiers and encouraging them to victory. In the beginning of the battle the French charged in a kind of confused rout, and were received with such a shower of arrows as to be instantly checked, and a moment afterwards turned to flight. The English soldiers sprang forward with swords and battle-axes, and completed the demoralization of the enemy's first line. The second was brought forward by the Duke of Alençon. This attack was resisted by the king in person at the head of his division. The battle now waxed furious. Henry, in full sight of friend and foe, distinguished himself by his deeds. When the Duke of Gloucester was wounded, thrown from his horse, and about to be slain, the king interposed his powerful arm and beat back the assailants. The Duke of Alençon had, before the begin-

ning of the battle, taken an oath that that day he would himself either kill or capture the king of England. Now was his time. He rushed forward to the attack, aimed a tremendous blow at Henry, cleft his helmet, and was about to repeat the stroke when he himself was unhorsed and killed. Eighteen others of the French knights, under similar vows, met the same fate. But the death of Alençon was the crisis of the battle. Learning of the death of their leader, they broke into flight. The dukes of Orleans and Bourbon were both slain. Many other brave knights and thousands of common soldiers strewed the field. Never was victory more improbable before the fact or more complete and overwhelming after it. Henry gathered together his spoils and prisoners, and returned in triumph to Dover.

It would have been supposed that such a disaster as that at Agincourt would have thoroughly cured the French nobles of their factious bitterness. But the insane Charles was helpless. The actual force of the monarchy lay paralyzed in his diseased brain. This condition gave free scope to the devilish machinations of Orleans and Burgundy. It thus happened that when, after a two years' rest, Henry, in the summer of 1417, returned to Normandy, the authorities of the kingdom were as little prepared as before to resist his progress. At Rouen, however, Henry was detained by a six months' siege. Even after this was brought to a successful conclusion, and the whole kingdom seemed to lie open to English conquest, the Burgundians of Paris indulged in the pleasing pastime of a massacre, in which fourteen thousand of the opposing party were murdered.

Not until the victorious Henry had quitted Normandy and begun his march on the French capital did the queen and Duke of Burgundy awake to the perils of the situation. The Dauphin, also, who was of the Armagnac faction, became alarmed, and when the Duke of Burgundy entered into negotiations with Henry, looking to the settlement of the affairs of France on such terms as might be pleasing to the ambitious king, the French prince made overtures to Burgundy, and a flimsy peace was patched up between the factions. The hollowness of the whole movement became at once apparent when the Dauphin, having invited the duke to a conference, caused him to be assassinated on the bridge of Montereau.

Hereupon Philip, son of the murdered duke, in the extremity of rage at the treacherous taking-off of his father, entered into correspondence with Henry, and proffered him the regency of the kingdom during the lifetime of the insane Charles and the crown of France after his death. In order to make all things secure it was stipulated that the Princess Catherine, daughter of Charles the Crazy, should be married to the English king. The nuptials were accordingly celebrated, and Henry and Charles made a joint entry into Paris. The states-general were convened, and the treaty was duly ratified.

The next stage in the programme of the Burgundians thus triumphant was to procure the excommunication and banishment of the Dauphin on the charge of having murdered the duke's father. The heir of France, however, was not disposed to abandon the contest. On the contrary, he assumed the title of regent, and prepared to defend it with the sword. Henry paid little attention to the movements of the disinherited prince; but believing the kingdom safe under the protection of the Duke of Clarence, he took his young queen and returned to England. For a few months matters went quietly; but in the beginning of 1421, the news came that Duke Clarence had been killed by a detachment of the Dauphin's troops. Henry found it necessary to return to France, and expedient to take with him the queen and her infant son, afterwards Henry VI. The Parisians pretended to be, and perhaps were, jubilant at the sight of the baby possibility that had in him the mingled blood of Capet and Plantagenet.

It was not long, however, until the returning tide of patriotism swept away all evidence of this factitious joy figured in the sand of hypocrisy. The Parisians could but perceive that this jubilation over the son of Henry V. was a kind of dance performed around the dead body of French nationality. Of course, the Dauphin gained whatever was lost to the English interest by this reäction. He won some successes over the Burgundians and planted himself securely in several towns. It became necessary for Henry again to take the field. His presence with the army rekin-

dled the old enthusiasm, and he was proceeding to repossess himself of the towns held by the Dauphin when he was taken sick and obliged to retire from the command. He was conveyed to the Wood of Vincennes, and was only spared by the common enemy sufficiently long to give his dying injunctions to the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, the former of whom he appointed regent of France and the latter of England, until what time his son should become of age. The king died in August of 1422, at the early age of thirty-four.

It had been the peculiarity of the policy of Henry V. that the great men of the kingdom were brought into the foreground during his reign. Instead of trying to destroy the ambitious, he sought to direct their activities and save their swords for the defense of the state. Besides the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, who became regents after his death, the earls of Warwick, Salisbury, and Arundel were highly honored by the king and retained in office during the regency. It thus happened that the shock occasioned by Henry's early death was less seriously felt on account of the stalwart pillars wherewith the state was now supported.

The nominal king of France did not long survive the death of his son-in-law. The former also expired in the latter part of 1422, and the Dauphin, assuming the title of CHARLES VII., immediately proclaimed himself king of France. The duty was thus devolved on the Duke of Bedford of supporting by force of arms the claims of his royal nephew, the baby king of England. A war now broke out between the English and Burgundian party on the one side, and the Orleanists, headed by Charles VII., on the other. The conflict continued for several years without decisive results. But in 1428 affairs assumed a more serious aspect when the city of Orleans was besieged by the Earl of Salisbury, who had succeeded Bedford in the command of the English army on the continent. When a part of the city had already yielded to the assailants, Salisbury was killed, and the command fell to the Earl of Suffolk and Lord Talbot. While Orleans was thus hard pressed by the English, Charles made unwearied efforts to relieve his city and drive away the besiegers; but the latter met him in battle before Orleans and inflicted on him a disastrous defeat. For the moment it seemed that the fate of the city, and perhaps of Charles himself, was sealed; but a different scheme had been arranged in the counsels of destiny.

For now it was that the slight but beautiful figure of Joan of Arc, *la Pucelle*, the inspired Girl of Domremy, appeared on the troubled horizon of France. Why should not a peasant of Lorraine give his daughter to deliver the kingdom from the oppression of foreigners? For she had seen the virgin Mother of Christ in a vision.

The story of the heroic exploits of Joan, not a princess, but a maiden—of her coming to Orleans, of the inspiration of her presence to the French and terror to the English, of the breaking up of the siege, and of her triumphant leading of Charles VII., as if by the hand, to his coronation in the ancient city of Rheims—need not be here repeated, for the same has already been given with sufficient details in the preceding chapter on the history of France.[1]

At last, in 1435, the Burgundians renounced the English alliance, and a peace was concluded between their duke and King Charles. It is narrated that this event, so full of promise to the nationality of France, and so disastrous to the interests of England on the continent, struck the Duke of Bedford with such dismay that he sickened and died. Nor could his loss be well supplied by any other of the English nobles. Before a new regent could be appointed, Charles VII. entered Paris and established himself in the royal seat of the Capets. At last, when the Duke of York was named for the regency, he found the assertion of his authority impeded by almost every obstacle which united France could throw before him. The English cause abroad now leaned for support upon the still unbowed form of Lord Talbot, who commanded the army. Before any serious efforts could be made to reëstablish the English cause in France, a pestilence broke out—a kind of centennial *finale* to the great plague which raged in the times of Philip VI.—and prevented any important military movements. In the lull some futile efforts were made for

[1] See *ante*, pp. 70–73.

the establishment of peace; but the attempt failed, and in 1440 the war broke out anew. Nothing decisive was accomplished by either side, and, after a desultory struggle of four years' duration, a truce was finally concluded through the agency of the Duchess of Burgundy and the Duke of Orleans.

Meanwhile Henry VI. had grown to manhood—such a feeble and indifferent manhood as could have been inferred from the loins of Henry V. only by the law of contradiction. A certain gentleness of temper was almost the only virtue of a character lacking force and conspicuous for its vacillation. To his natural weakness was added the misfortune of a most disastrous marriage—such a union, indeed, as dropped a spark in the magazine of animosity which several generations had heaped up between the descendants of Lancaster and York.

At this epoch two of the most powerful personages in England were Cardinal Beaufort and the Duke of Gloucester. The former contrived and the latter attempted to prevent the marriage of the king with the Princess Margaret of Anjou. After the success of the cardinal's scheme, a bitterness such as only a proud woman when slighted can feel and an equally proud nobleman resent sprang up between the queen and Gloucester. Beaufort became the leader of one party and Gloucester of another. The former was supported by the Duke of Suffolk and Queen Margaret, and representing the king, or what would be in modern times called the administration of England, gained the mastery for the time over his adversaries. The wife of Gloucester was accused of witchery and banished from the kingdom. The duke himself was next charged with high treason, and though the accusation could not be sustained, he was thrown into prison and soon afterwards murdered in his bed. This perfidious and bloody deed at once aroused all the long slumbering hatred of the House of Lancaster, which though now represented by a weak and peaceable king, quite incapable of such a deed as the murder of Gloucester, was held responsible for the infamous spite-work of the queen and her confederates. For a season, however, Margaret and the Duke of Suffolk—for Cardinal Beaufort died in 1447—managed affairs as they would; but a storm was all the time preparing which was destined erelong to shake the kingdom to its foundation.

Never was there a measure of more unwisdom in the parties most concerned than the murder of Gloucester. Those who were responsible for that crime soon permitted a state secret to be divulged; namely, that an agreement had been made on the marriage of Margaret to King Henry that her father should receive the provinces of Maine and Anjou as a kind of bonus in exchange for his daughter. The patriotic Duke of York, now regent of France, was an obstacle in the way of the fulfillment of this bargain. It was known that his consent to such a measure could never be obtained. It became necessary, therefore, for Margaret and Suffolk to get the Duke of York out of the way of their scheme, which they did by depriving him of the regency and appointing the Duke of Somerset in his stead.

STATUE OF JOAN OF ARC.

By this measure the duke, who had hitherto remained loyal to the House of Lancaster, became deeply and justly offended. The recollection of his own claim to the English crown, as a descendant through the male line of the fifth and the female line of the third son of Edward III., suddenly rekindled in his breast the fires that had burned in secret for several generations. He resolved upon the audacious measure of claiming the throne for himself, and in this scheme, which was scarcely more treasonable than just, he was seconded by the general sentiment of the kingdom; for the queen and Suffolk had made themselves extremely odious to the better conscience of England.

When, in 1450, Parliament assembled, Suffolk was charged with treason and imprisoned in the Tower. When he was brought to trial the queen's influence was still sufficient to reduce the penalty to banishment for five years. But the wrath of his enemies was not to be appeased. He was pursued, overtaken at Dover, and slain. His headless trunk was left a ghastly spectacle on the sands of the beach.

The kingdom now became the scene of tumult and confusion. Insurrections broke out in various quarters. In Kent a great body of insurgents put themselves under the lead of the celebrated Jack Cade, who defeated an English army numbering fifteen thousand men, and then, like his prototype, Wat Tyler, advanced on London at the head of his victorious mob. Making his way into the city, he seized the sheriff and several other dignitaries, and put them to death. He proclaimed himself master of London, and, for the day, seemed indeed to have become the arbiter not only of the metropolis, but of the whole kingdom. In a short time, however, the authorities rallied, and Lord Scales drove him headlong out of the city. The rabblement scattered; a pardon was offered to all who would submit, and Cade's forces melted away. He himself was hunted down and killed in a garden at Rothfield.

By this time the English power on the continent flickered in the socket. The thought of possessing France had given place to the thought of preserving Calais from capture. Nevertheless, in 1452 an effort was made by Lord Talbot to recover the province of Guienne. A campaign was conducted as far as Chatillon, where a battle was fought, in which both Talbot and his son, Lord Lisle, were slain. Somerset returned to England and entered into the king's, or rather the queen's, council; for Henry VI. was now an invalid as infirm of purpose as he was weak in body. Such was the situation as to turn the eyes of the people to the Duke of York as the only one who could save the country from anarchy. By the common voice he became protector of the kingdom. Somerset was imprisoned, and for the moment it seemed that the Yorkist revolution was about to be accomplished without bloodshed.

But the House of Lancaster was not destined to so easy an extinction. The queen's party, by a sudden turn, recovered their position. Somerset was released from prison, and the Duke of York deprived of the protectorship. But the latter withdrew with his followers to St. Albans. Somerset came forth with a large force of Lancastrians, and a battle was fought, in which he was killed and his forces scattered. The old king was captured by the victorious York, who, still claiming to be a loyal subject, led him back in peace to London. For the time it was said that the civil war which the Yorkists waged was not against the House of Lancaster, but against the evil advisers into whose hands the king had fallen.

Both parties rallied, armed, took the field. Battle followed battle. The factions consolidated around the standards of the two Houses. By degrees the position of the Duke of York changed from that of a supporter to that of an enemy of Lancaster. He openly—and, as it appeared, prematurely—declared his purpose of taking the English crown. In this movement the loyal sentiment of England at first refused to support him. His followers abandoned his cause, and his forces were so reduced that he found it expedient to go into retirement in Ireland. Earl Neville of Warwick, however, remained as his lieutenant, and, after a second reäction against the Lancastrians, succeeded in raising an army of twenty-five thousand men. With this formidable force he met the royal army at NORTHAMPTON, and here in 1456 was fought the first

great battle between the rival Houses. The Yorkists were completely victorious. Queen Margaret and her son fled for refuge to Scotland, and were there received under protection by James III. The king was taken in his tent and conducted by Neville back to London.

The victory of his friends at Northampton opened the way for the return of the Duke of York from Ireland. He came as one already triumphant, and openly laid his claim to the crown before the Parliament. It is the peculiarity of such bodies, under such circumstances, to temporize, concede, patch up some makeshift of policy that shall suffice for the present. It was agreed that Henry of Lancaster should continue to reign during his life, but that the succession should go to the Duke of York, to the exclusion of Margaret's son, the Prince Edward of Wales.

The news of this proceeding aroused the queen to the utmost pitch of fury. It was not to be expected that the proud mother of the heir to the throne of England would patiently sit by at the court of a neighboring prince and see her son forever displaced by an act of Parliament. She quickly raised an army of twenty thousand men, mostly gathered from the Border Country, and marched directly for London. The Duke of York went forth to meet her; but greatly underestimating the forces with which he had to contend, and urged to rashness by the Earl of Salisbury, he gave battle at Wakefield with an army only one-fourth as strong as that of the queen. The result was a disastrous defeat. The Duke of York was killed, and Salisbury, with several other distinguished leaders, was taken only to be beheaded. In her rage the queen ordered the head of York to be cut off, crowned with a paper crown, and stuck up on the gate of his own capital. His son, the young Earl of Rutland, was brought to Lord Clifford, who in bloody revenge for his own father's death, and without compassion, murdered the prince with his own hand. The Lancastrians then marched in triumph towards London, and the men of the Border were turned loose upon the country.

In the metropolis, however, the Yorkist party was still strongly in the ascendant. Earl Neville marched forth with a second army, and confronted the queen at St. Alban's. Here another battle was fought, and another victory gained by the Lancastrians. Henry VI., who had been led out by Neville, was left behind after the battle, and was thus enabled to join the queen. Still London refused to open her gates to Lancaster. The victories won by the vindictive queen gave her but little actual advantage, and after a season of uncertainty she was compelled to retire from before the metropolis and seek safety in the North.

The WAR OF THE ROSES was now fully on. The white rose was the symbol of York, and the red of Lancaster. The struggle that ensued was one of the most bloody and merciless known to Modern History. After the death of Richard, duke of York, in the battle of Wakefield, his rights and titles descended to his son Edward, who became at once the leader of the Yorkist party. He discovered great abilities as a military leader, and was strongly supported in upholding the fortunes of his House by his two brothers—George, duke of Clarence, and Richard, duke of Gloucester. In a battle fought in 1461, at Mortimer's Cross, near Hereford, the young duke won his first victory over the Lancastrians. After the battle he entered London in triumph, and was proclaimed king with every manifestation of popular approval. For the time the decrepit Henry VI. seemed to have dropped out of sight and memory.

Such was the virtual termination of the Lancastrian ascendency in England. It had begun in usurpation, culminated in the brief glory of Henry V., and gone down the inclined plane of his son's prolonged imbecility. In one respect the epoch was fruitful: the *People* grew. The general weakness of the Lancastrian claim to the crown, combining with the personal feebleness of Henry VI., made it necessary, or at least desirable, that the House of Lancaster should pay a respect, hitherto unthought of, to the popular will. In like manner the Yorkists sought to supply the defect in *their* title by deference to the people.

It thus happened that the dissensions of the widely divided family of Edward III. conduced greatly to the growth of parliamentary liberty; insomuch that before the Wars

of the Roses had come to an end the remark of the French historian, Comines, that in his judgment, of all the countries he had seen, England was best governed, the people least oppressed, was justified by the facts. It must be remembered, however, that such a state-

MURDER OF YOUNG RUTLAND BY LORD CLIFFORD.
Drawn by L. P. Leyendecker.

ment was warranted only by the standard of the Middle Ages, and would be ridiculous if viewed by the liberal standard of modern times.

On his accession to the throne, in the year 1461, EDWARD IV. was but nineteen years of age. He possessed in a high degree the qualities which were reckoned essential in an English king. His voluptuousness in peace and cruelty in war were likely to be overlooked in the brilliancy of his faculties, the valor of his conduct, and the beauty of his person. He was destined to find full opportunity for the display of all the force and vigor with which nature had endowed him. Scarcely was he seated on the throne until he was obliged to lead forth an army and confront the infuriated Lancastrians, who had gathered a desperate host at Towton. Here was fought a bloody and hotly contested battle. For hours together, in the midst of a storm of snow which blew with blinding force into the faces of the Lancastrians, the conflict raged, until at last it was decided by a complete victory for York. After the battle of St. Alban's, Henry VI. and his queen had made their head-quarters in the city of York, but hearing of the disaster at Towton, they were constrained to save themselves by flight. They escaped from the kingdom and sought refuge at the court of Scotland.

After his success in battle Edward's popularity increased. Another parliament confirmed his title to the crown. Wanting in the wisdom and liberality of Henry V., he sought to make his throne secure by the extermination of his enemies. Every prominent wearer of the red rose who fell into his power was executed without mercy. The great gaps which were thus created in the peerage of England were filled as rapidly as possible by the creation of new noblemen of the king's own party.

Meanwhile, the busy and ambitious mind of Queen Margaret devised new schemes for the restoration of her power. Finding that Scotland was not strong enough to give her the requisite aid, she repaired to Paris, and tried the effect of her blandishments on the cold temper and plotting spirit of Louis XI. That monarch, for policy's sake, was willing to hear the complaints of all the exiled kings and queens of the world. As to Margaret, he was willing to aid her if she would pay the price. The price was Calais. In return for the promised surrender of that last stronghold of England beyond the Channel, he agreed to furnish the suppliant queen with troops.

With the small contingent thus secured she returned to Scotland and soon made a descent on Northumberland. Here she achieved some brief successes by the capture of Alnwick and Bamborough castles. Already, however, Lord Montacute was coming forth against her at the head of an English army. In April of 1464 he encountered her forces at Hedgeley Moor and gained a victory. In the following month another battle was fought at Hexham, in which the Lancastrians were utterly routed. The old king Henry made his escape in one direction and the queen and her son in another. The former, after fleeing into Lancashire, where he suffered the sorrows of concealment and ignominy for the space of a year, was finally captured at Waddington Hall, conveyed to London, and delivered over to the tender mercies of the Earl of Warwick. Margaret and the Prince of Wales fled into the forest, where they were attacked by a robber: but by her queenly presence she not only subdued the ruffian, but put her son in his care until they made their way to the seacoast and took ship for France.

By this time the temper of the combatants was inflamed to the last degree. King Edward and the supporters of his throne appeared incapable alike of mercy and generosity. When the captive Henry VI. was brought into the city the Earl of Warwick gave command that his feet should be tied in his stirrups, after the manner shown to common criminals, and that he should be paraded around the pillory in the presence of a hooting multitude. The tottering relic of the glory of Lancaster was then taken to the Tower to await his doom.

Soon after the disappearance of the royal specter in the shadows of prison, King Edward contracted a private marriage with the widow of Sir John Grey. For a season the union was kept from the public, but in the course of time the new queen was instated at court. Her friends and relatives came with her, and

were duly ennobled by the king. The impolicy of these measures was soon apparent. Warwick, who had desired the king to wed some European princess of high repute, was mortally offended. Edward's brother, Clarence, was so angered at the installation of this tribe of parvenus that he retired into France. Nor was it long until the politics of the fifteenth century, after the modern manner, had made strange bedfellows. Warwick and Clarence and Queen Margaret entered into a conspiracy to dethrone Edward! Warwick was to be regent during the life of Henry VI. Clarence was to have the succession in case of the death without heirs of the queen's son, the Prince of Wales. The aged prison and seated him on the throne. For a season the red rose bloomed as though the winter would never come. In a short time, however, the Yorkist party recovered from the shock of defeat, and again took the field in arms. Edward, hearing of the rally of his friends, returned in haste and resumed his place at the head of his House. Again the English people, by a sudden convulsion, went over to his banner. Edward reëntered London, seized and reïmprisoned the shaking Henry, and mounted the throne as before.

It was now the turn of Warwick to stake his all on the event of battle. Gathering the Lancastrian forces together, he advanced to Barnet, where he was met by Edward on the

MARGARET INTRUSTS PRINCE EDWARD TO THE ROBBER.

but still beautiful Margaret was to be the splendor behind the throne.

The plot was born full-grown. In 1470 the foreign forces of Lancastrians, now headed by Warwick, bore down on England and landed at Dartmouth. Edward refused to take the alarm until it was too late. There was an anti-York uprising of such proportions as to become at once revolutionary. The throne of Edward toppled over. He and his brother Gloucester fled to port, took ship in a trading vessel, and escaped to Friesland. Queen Elizabeth retired to the sanctuary of Westminster, and here her son, afterwards Edward V., was presently born.

The Lancastrians reveled in their victory. Warwick brought forth old Henry VI. from

12th of April, 1471. When the conflict was beginning, Duke George of Clarence, terrified, perhaps, at the possibility of falling into his brother's hands, deserted Warwick with twelve thousand men and went over to the king. The dauntless earl, however, heeding not the treacherous defection of his son-in-law, courageously entered the fight. But presently two divisions of the Lancastrians became by mistake engaged with each other, and the whole army was thrown into irremediable confusion. Warwick fought to the last, and died, covered with wounds. Many other heroic defenders of the now waning cause of Lancaster went down with him into the dust. The disaster of the one party was as complete as the triumph of the other.

The news of the overthrow shot the arrow of despair into the proud heart of Margaret. She had but that day returned from abroad, in full expectancy of a victorious reception. For the time she abandoned all hope and hastened with her son to the sanctuary of Beaulieu. In less than a month, however, the fragments of the Lancastrians were gathered together, and the front which they were able to present revived a fitful gleam of ambition in the breast of the queen. She entered the camp with her friends, took her station on the fatal field of TEWKESBURY, and was there overwhelmingly defeated on the 3d of May. The noblest of her followers were left dead upon the field, and the rest were scattered in all directions. Soon afterwards, Margaret and Prince Edward were captured, and the fortunes of Lancaster went out in darkness.

The captive prince was brought into the presence of Edward IV., and when asked what business he had in England, replied that he had come to recover his father's kingdom. Hereupon the king struck him in the face with his gauntlet, and Gloucester and Clarence, who were standing by, taking the hint from their sovereign, drew their swords and stabbed the youth to death on the spot. The queen was thrust into the Tower, where her husband had already been confined at intervals for many years. On the morrow after the battle, the Duke of Gloucester, in whom the reader will have already discovered the currish lineaments of Richard III., stole into the apartment of the aged Henry VI. in the Tower and killed him in cold blood—at least such was the current tradition of a deed which has never been historically determined.[1]

Such was the end of the fierce civil struggle which had desolated England for nearly twenty years. More than sixty princes of the blood-royal of the kingdom had perished in the conflict. Fully one-half of the peers and nobles had been exterminated, and it was estimated that a hundred thousand of the English yeomanry had fallen in the battles of this merciless war, whose only significance was to decide whether the son of a fifth son by male descent and of a third son by the female line or the son of a fourth son had a better claim to the crown of England. Such was the glorious and bloody nonsense which filled the ambition of our ancestral island only twenty years before the discovery of America!

No sooner had Richard of Gloucester murdered the Prince of Wales than he became the lover of his victim's widow, the Princess Anne. And if we may believe the story of the times, she, forgetting the bloody corpse of her husband, lent a too willing ear to the seductive flatteries of his destroyer. At this stage of the villainous game, however, Clarence, who had married the elder sister of Anne, appeared on the scene and offered his objection to a union which might result in establishing a line of royalty in rivalry with his own. He accordingly secreted Anne from her lover for a season; but Richard soon outwitted his brother and married his victim's widow.

When EDWARD IV. found himself once firmly seated on the throne, he revived the old project of a war of conquest in France. In 1475 he raised and equipped an army of thirty thousand men and proceeded to Calais. Public expectation in England rose with the occasion, and it was believed that the royal York would presently return in full possession of the provinces formerly belonging to the English crown. But Edward had now to deal with an enemy who was the impersonation of all the arts known to the cajoler and kingly craftsman. Louis XI. soon found the weak place in Edward's harness, and by offering

[1] Doubtless the Shakespearean rendition of the last scene in the great tragedy of the House of Lancaster is the true one:

Gloucester.—I'll hear no more;—Die, prophet, in thy speech; [*stabs him.*]
For this, amongst the rest, was I ordained.
King Henry.—Ay, and for much more slaughter after this.
O God! forgive my sins, and pardon thee! [*Dies.*]
Glo.—What! will the aspiring blood of Lancaster
Sink in the ground? I thought it would have mounted.
See, how my sword weeps for the poor king's death!
O, may such purple tears be alway shed
From those that wish the downfall of our house!—
If any spark of life be yet remaining,
Down, down to hell;—and say—I sent thee thither. [*stabs him again.*]
I, that have neither pity, love, nor fear.
Third Part of King Henry VI.; Act V., Scene 6

him a magnificent bribe procured his return to England. Great was the chagrin in the home kingdom when the sovereign came home with nothing but money.

Nor was the reputation of Edward improved by the life which he now led. The ambitions which he had displayed as Duke of York appeared to have expired under the crown. In the midst of such excesses as a licentious disposition suggested and the luxuries of the court gave opportunity to indulge he passed his time in gross pleasures, and in planning measures by which to clear the sky of York of two clouds which still lingered in the horizon. The first of these took the shape of that brother Clarence who had engaged with Warwick in the late treasonable rebellion, and come over to the king only in time to save himself at the battle of Barnet. Such was the untrustworthiness of his character that Edward might well believe him capable of another defection when passion might suggest. Clarence was accordingly seized, charged with treason, condemned to death by parliament, and choosing his own method of execution—such was the *mercy* of the king—was drowned in a butt of malmsey.

There still remained one specter. For the Lancastrians, after the murder of Henry VI. and his son Edward, prince of Wales, had found a representative of their House in the person of young Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, now a refugee in Brittany. This Prince Henry was the son of the Duke of Richmond and grandson of Owen Tudor, a nobleman of distinction. Henry's father had married Margaret, grand-daughter of John Beaufort, a natural son of the Duke of Lancaster. That is, Earl Henry was, through his mother, a great-great-grandson of John of Gaunt. The two flaws in his descent were the spurious great-grandfather and the female link in the case of his mother. None the less the House of Lancaster was glad to find and quick to adopt so strong a stay to the fortunes of the family. And just in proportion as Henry was important to the Lancastrians was he dangerous and odious to the Yorks.

At first King Edward undertook to brush away the shadow by a project, real or pretended, of marrying his daughter to Earl Richmond, thereby merging the claims of the Lancastrian party with his own. He accordingly sent for Henry to come to England, to be reconciled, and to receive the hand of the princess. To this, Richmond was disposed to accede. But the Duke of Brittany, under whose protection the prince was, suspicious of Edward's designs, recalled Henry even after his departure for England, and warned him not to put himself into the power of the treacherous Yorks. Then the cloud on the horizon waxed greater.

Such was the condition of affairs in 1483, when Edward IV. died. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Prince EDWARD, now but thirteen years of age. At the time of his father's death he was at Ludlow Castle, under charge of Lord Rivers and Lord Grey. Those noblemen at once set out with their royal ward for London. On their way thither they were met by the boy king's uncle Gloucester, the duke of Buckingham, and Lord Hastings. There never was a more sinister and dangerous committee. Gloucester had already matured his scheme for seizing the crown, and all the lives that stood between him and the light were doomed. After spending a jubilant evening with the royal party the work began. On the following morning Grey and Rivers were seized and hurried off to Pontefract Castle. The young king suddenly found himself in the power of the obsequious Gloucester, who, with every art known to the murderous courtier, sought to soothe and console the poor boy for the loss of those whom he represented to be traitors to the unprotected prince. He then conducted young Edward into London, riding bareheaded before him through the streets, and calling upon the populace to salute him as king.

Presently afterwards the royal council assembled, and Gloucester was appointed protector of the kingdom. He at once began to prepare for the coronation of his royal ward, but it was such preparation as the wolf makes for the crowning of the lamb. In the interim another scene was enacted which was a necessary part of the passing tragedy. While the council was in session at Westminster a body of armed men, whom Gloucester's agents had carefully schooled for their work, burst into the assembly, and, with the cry of "Treason, treason!" seized upon those members of the

body who were supposed to be inimical to the duke. Among the number who were carried off and thrust into the Tower were the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Ely, and Lord Stanley, three of the most prominent personages in the kingdom. Lord Hastings, another of the suspected, was immediately condemned to death and beheaded. At the same time another part of the bloody scheme was enacted at Pontefract, where Sir Thomas Ratcliffe entered with a large body of followers, and put Rivers and Grey to death. The next violence was done to the Duke of York, the younger brother of Edward V., now awaiting his coronation. Gloucester induced the Archbishop of Canterbury to bring this young prince from the sanctuary, where he was in refuge with his mother, under pretense of having him present at the crowning of his brother. Both the tender Yorks thus fell into the power of the merciless Gloucester, who, with his misshapen form—for one leg was shorter than the other, and his back heaped up in a lump between his shoulders—was now going forward with rapid strides to the accomplishment of his purpose.

As soon as the two York princes were safe within his clutches he caused it to be given out that they *were both illegitimate!* His tools soon set the city in a roar of calumny with the story that King Edward IV., before his marriage with Elizabeth Wydville, had been secretly married to another. Therefore the marriage with Elizabeth was bigamous, and her sons, the two princes, were bastards! The tender conscience and high loyal spirit of Gloucester could not endure that the English throne should be filled by the spurious brat of his brother Edward. Still he kept on the mask, and when the Duke of Buckingham and other confidants came according to the programme and offered him the crown, they found him profoundly absorbed in his devotions, reading a prayer-book, utterly disinclined to the troublesome cares of state, given up, like a pious monk, to religious meditations, and the holy culture of his spiritual nature! Nevertheless, his satellites insisted that he should take the crown, and at last the reluctant Richard was induced to yield. Perhaps there was never a piece of more profound sham acting done by any royal assassin in the world. The hunchback Duke of Gloucester thus substituted his own coronation for that of his nephew Edward, and took to himself the title of RICHARD III.

It only remained to extinguish the two imprisoned princes. How Edward V. and his younger brother died in the Tower has never been historically determined, but the tradition of the times was, and still is, that the two innocent Yorks were suffocated in their bed by hired murderers, and were buried at the foot of the staircase. Thus one after another the nobles and princes who stood between Richard of Gloucester and the throne of England were cut down in order that the hyena might sit upright in the seat of William the Conqueror! Prince Edward at Tewkesbury, Henry VI. in the Tower, George duke of Clarence, Hastings, Stanley, Grey, Rivers, Edward V., and the little Duke of York, all went down in the pathway of him who knew "neither pity, love, nor fear."

It was now incumbent on Richard to keep what he had taken. His first measure was to make himself popular with the multitude. To this end he planned a tour through the kingdom. Setting out from London, he proceeded with his queen and son as far as York, where he had himself a second time crowned in the cathedral of that city. But mere pageant could not save him from the inevitable reäction against his crimes. It appears that Richard, in the distribution of rewards after his elevation to the throne, had failed to remember Buckingham in that degree demanded by the duke's ambition. The latter, for this reason, soon fell into a bitter and treasonable frame of mind; and in this he was encouraged by Morton, bishop of Ely, who had been intrusted to his care as a sort of state's prisoner. The bishop urged Buckingham to take up arms against Richard the murderer, and drive him from the throne. A conspiracy was accordingly formed, and a correspondence opened with Henry of Richmond, with a view to making that prince king of England—a measure to which he was in nowise averse.

But Richard III. was a dangerous beast to handle. He was on the alert, and had his agents everywhere to spy out the movements of his enemies. He discovered what was going on respecting the Duke of Richmond, and

secured the capture of Buckingham, whom he ordered to be immediately beheaded. The others who were privy to the plot were also seized and put to death. For the time it appeared that conspiracy was a perilous business for those who esteemed their heads worth saving.

It sometimes happens that nature finds the penetrable part of the most hardened. In the spring of 1484 the king's son Edward, then nine years of age, sickened and died. It were hard to say whether the grief of the great criminal was the outcry of broken fatherhood or the wailing of a king who had lost his only heir. Queen Anne, too, continuing as those who have no hope, survived the death of her son only a short time; but the allegation of Richard's enemies that he procured her death because she could not bear him another child, and because he had already determined to dispose of her in order to strengthen his House by a marriage with his niece, the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV.—though this idea is woven into the Shakespearean drama—was perhaps untrue.[1] Nevertheless, after the queen's death, Richard at once adopted the plan of a marriage with Elizabeth. His determination on this point was quickened by the knowledge that Henry of Richmond had also fixed his eyes on the princess as his prospective queen. The king and Henry thus became rivals in a double sense. The prize was the crown of England *and* the hand of Elizabeth.

When information reached Richmond of Richard's purpose regarding the princess, he hastened his movements for a descent on England. In midsummer of 1485 he landed at Mil-Haven with a small army numbering about three thousand men. At first the enterprise seemed forlorn in the last degree, But Richmond had good information respecting the actual state of the kingdom. The Welsh were ready to rise in his favor, and the duke received many messages of secret sympathy and support among the English, who were groaning under the despotism of Richard. It seems that the latter misapprehended the sentiment of the country, and did not at first seriously mistrust the army. In proportion as he was confident of his own strength, he despised the weakness of his enemy. But when he undertook the work of organizing his forces to crush Henry to the earth, he began to discover the symptoms of disloyalty on every hand. A body of Welsh troops that were sent forward against Richmond deserted and went over to his standard. The king suspected that Lord Stanley, who commanded the army, was also in secret sympathy with the revolution. In order to make sure that no scheme of treachery against himself should succeed, Richard seized the son of Stanley, and put him in ward for his father's loyalty.

Entering the field in person, the king collected his troops and proceeded to Leicester. From that place he set out on the 22d of August, 1485, and reached the abbey of Merivalle, near Bosworth Field, to which place Richmond had already advanced, and there pitched his tent. On the next morning both armies were drawn out for battle. When the conflict began, it became evident that a large part of Richard's army was disloyal. Presently Lord Stanley went over to Richmond, and turning about at the head of his division, attacked the army of the king. The latter now grew desperate. With a kind of savage heroism worthy of a better cause he rushed headlong into the ranks of the enemy and sought to find out Richmond. For a while the opposing soldiers gave way before the terrible apparition, and it is likely that had the earl exposed himself single handed to the wrath of the demon, he would have lost his life in the encounter. But the bodyguard of Henry closed around the infuriated assailant, and though many of them fell in the terrific circle of his sword, he was himself soon beaten down and killed. Like Catiline, he died with a scowl of defiance on his desperate face, covered with dust and blood and slowly stiffening into the apathy and rigor of death. Richmond was proclaimed king on the field of his victory; nor was there any longer — so fatal had been the exterminating work of Richard—a prince who could seri-

[1] The poet makes Richard say on the occasion of his successful wooing of Anne in the presence of the bier of her dead lord:

> Was ever woman in this humor wooed?
> Was ever woman in this humor won?
> I'll have her,—*but I will not keep her long.*
>
> *Richard the Third; Act I., Scene 2.*

ously contest the peaceable accession of the HOUSE OF TUDOR to the throne of England. It only remained for Henry to complete his work by marrying the Princess Elizabeth of York, thus at last blending in a single line the long estranged families of the sons of Edward III.

With the assumption of the crown of England by HENRY VII., we come to a new epoch in English history. It is the emergence from the shadows of mediæval times into the far dawn of the modern era. The Plantagenets had occupied the throne for two hundred and ninety-six years, and had contributed to history some of the most noted monarchs of the Middle Ages. The age of chivalry expired with the reign of Edward III. Then followed those foreign wars in which England, sometimes valorously and sometimes feebly, attempted to gain and maintain an ascendency on the western rim of the continent. But she was destined to become a great insular rather than a great continental state.

The Wars of the Roses had this important effect on the history of the kingdom: They virtually destroyed the feudal nobility of England in an internecine strife, thus giving an opportunity for the development and growth of the institution of monarchy. The Tudor kings at once assumed and long maintained a pomp and state hitherto unknown among the rulers of the Island. Here, as on the continent, where Louis XI. triumphed over the spirit and remaining energies of feudalism as impersonated in Charles of Burgundy, the KING began to tower on high, to appear conspicuous as the leading factor in the history of the age; while, on the other side, the remaining factor of Modern History, the PEOPLE, likewise appeared and stood over against the king till the twain were as two mountains that have parted. Here, then, for the time, we take another leave of English history to look for a moment at the progress of events in Spain, Italy, and the North of Europe. It is only necessary to remind the reader that the accession of Henry VII. took place but seven years before the discovery of America,

DEATH OF RICHARD III. AND CORONATION OF RICHMOND.

and that when the two Cabots, John and Sebastian, shall presently depart from the harbor of Bristol to trace out the bleak coast of Labrador, and to establish the claim of England to the eastern shore of central North America, they will carry the English pennon and the royal banner of Tudor.

CHAPTER XCVIII.—SPAIN, ITALY, AND THE NORTH OF EUROPE.

THE history of Spain in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries will include sketches of the Christian kingdoms of Navarre, Aragon, Castile and Leon, and of the Mohammedan kingdom of Granada. The outline will also embrace the movement by which a consolidation of these states was effected, and the modern Kingdom of Spain established under Ferdinand and Isabella—a movement entirely analogous to that which took place in Germany under Maximilian I., in France under Louis XI., and in England under Henry VII.

Navarre, the ancient *Navarra*, lay next to France and the Pyrenees, and was one of the first Christian states established after the conquest of the country by the Moors. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the Moslems ever succeeded in subduing the old Christian population of this somewhat mountainous region. During the reigns of Charlemagne and Louis the Debonair the province of Navarre belonged to France, but near the close of the ninth century the country again became independent. A hundred and twenty years later, under Sancho III., surnamed the Great, Navarre became a strong, even a formidable, power, admired by the states of christendom and feared by the Mohammedans.

It will be remembered that in 1223 Navarre was obtained by Count Thibaut of Champagne. The province remained in possession of his family for fifty years, when his granddaughter Jeanne was married to Philip the Fair of France, and thus Navarre was united to the French crown. Forty-three years afterwards, when Philip of Valois came to the throne, the Navarrese again became independent, and so remained under their own sovereigns until Jeanne, daughter of Louis X., becoming heiress of the province, carried it over to the House of Evreux. The next transfer of the principality was to Aragon, which event happened in 1425. The crowns of Navarre and Aragon then remained united for fifty-four years, when the House of Foix gained a brief ascendency, only to be replaced by that of Albret in 1484. It will thus be seen that the Navarrese were still independent at the time when the discovery of a New World diverted the attention of all Western Europe to the possibilities beyond the waters. It was twenty years after the success of Columbus before Ferdinand the Catholic succeeded in incorporating Navarre with the consolidated kingdom of Spain.

The kingdom of Aragon dates back to the days of Rome. From the Visigoths it was wrested by the Moors in the beginning of the eighth century. The country was next conquered by Sancho III. of Navarre, by whom it was annexed as a county of his own kingdom. In 1035 his son, Romiro I., received it as his part of the paternal inheritance. Under his successors Aragon flourished. Barcelona was incorporated with the kingdom, and the princes of that province gained the crown of the united countries. This House of Barcelona gave eleven kings to Aragon, the last of whom was Martin, whose brief but successful reign ended in 1412. In that year Ferdinand I., king of Castile, supplanted the Barcelona dynasty, and paved the way for the union of the two kingdoms. This work was accomplished by the marriage of his grandson, Ferdinand II., in 1469, to Isabella, heiress of Castile. The united principalities were henceforth known as the kingdom of Castile and Aragon.

The previous history of Castile is of but little importance. Like Navarre, this part of the country was never, perhaps, entirely subjugated by the Mohammedans. Native counts ruled the country from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the eleventh century. In 1033 Ferdinand, son of Sancho III. of Navarre, received Castile by the partition of

his father's kingdom; and four years afterwards, when Bermudo III., king of Leon, died, Ferdinand succeeded in uniting that province with his own. Thus Leon was merged into Castile, as Castile was afterwards merged into Aragon.

While these movements were taking place in the north and west of Spain the southern part of the peninsula still remained under the domination of the Moors. As the Christians gradually regained what they had lost in Navarre, Aragon, and Old and New Castile, the Mohammedans receded southward, and concentrated their energies in the kingdom of Granada. Here, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, they flourished. Here, while all the rest of Europe was sunk in darkness, they kept the lamps of learning perpetually aflame. Here the sciences of the East were replanted by the Arabian philosophers, and when they had grown somewhat in this congenial soil, sprays and bulbs and cuttings of the life-everlasting of knowledge were carried beyond the Pyrenees, beyond the Rhine, beyond the English Channel.

Looking, then, at Spain as a whole, her importance in Modern History begins to appear with the accession of the House of Trastamara, about the middle of the fourteenth century. Henry II., founder of that dynasty, reigned until 1379, and was succeeded by his son, John I. of Castile. This prince, after a reign of eleven years, left the kingdom to Henry III. of Castile and Ferdinand I. of Aragon. The former was the grandfather of Isabella, and the latter of Ferdinand the Catholic, who by their marriage, in 1469, united Aragon and Castile in one kingdom. The joint reign of these sovereigns constitutes the beginning of the greatness of Spain.

Ferdinand, surnamed the Catholic, was the fifth sovereign of that name of Castile; the second, of Aragon; the third, of Naples; and the second, of Sicily. At the age of sixteen he was proclaimed by his father, John II., as king of Sicily, and his own associate in the government of Navarre and Aragon. When, in 1474, King Henry IV. of Castile, brother of Isabella, whom Ferdinand had already married, died, the two were proclaimed joint sovereigns of the Castilian Kingdom. Hereupon, the Marquis of Villena, the Archbishop of Toledo, and the Grand Master of Calatrava, headed an insurrection, the purpose of which was to dethrone Ferdinand and Isabella, and confer the crown on the Princess Juana, an alleged daughter of Henry IV., so recognized by himself, but whom the Spanish Cortes had set aside as illegitimate. But the revolution failed. Ferdinand gained a victory over the rebels at Toro, and in 1479 they were obliged to make peace on such terms as the conqueror was pleased to grant. As for Juana, she sought to escape from the stigma of her birth—being the supposed child of Beltran de la Cueva—by entering a nunnery.

By the death of his father, Ferdinand now inherited the crown of Aragon; but Navarre was assigned to the late king's daughter, Eleanor. With the exception of this province and the kingdoms of Portugal and Granada, Ferdinand thus became the ruler of the whole Spanish peninsula. He displayed great abilities in the management of affairs and the government of men. He set himself against the spirit of localism which, until now, had impeded the progress of Spain towards national unity. He suppressed disorder, exterminated the brigands and robbers, and mastered the arrogant knights. Had his mind been as liberal as his energies were great the rapid emergence of the country into a condition of peace and development might have been expected.

But Ferdinand was a bigot. He undertook to weed out heresy from the kingdom. To his intolerant mind the Inquisition seemed to be the best means whereby to accomplish his purpose. This powerful institution became also an agent in his hands for subordinating the nobles and even the clergy to his will.

Not less bitter was the persecution of the Jews than was the animosity against the heretics. It became the fixed policy of Ferdinand and Isabella to drive the Israelites out of Spain. To this end, in the spring of 1492, an edict was issued by the joint sovereigns for the expulsion of the Jews. Perhaps no greater hardship was ever visited upon a people since the dawn of modern times than that which now fell upon the unoffending children of Israel. They were driven from their homes without mercy. They were turned naked into

what kingdoms soever they were able to make their way. It was a virtual confiscation of the entire Jewish property of Spain. The number expelled from the country has never been authentically ascertained. Some authors have placed it as high as eight hundred thousand, while others, notably the historian Prescott, has reduced the aggregate to a hundred and sixty thousand. The Spanish Jews, thus driven from the country of their birth, sought refuge, some in Portugal, others in France and Italy, and still others in Africa and the East. Like all other barbarous enterprises of the kind, this act of Ferdinand and Isabella did more harm, if possible, to their own kingdom than even to the persecuted people whom they drove into exile. For the Jews then, as ever, were among the most thrifty and enterprising of the Spanish population; and by their expulsion the industries and merchandising interests of the kingdom received a staggering blow.

While the Spanish sovereigns were thus engaged in driving Israel out of the land, they carried forward with equal zeal another work fully as impolitic and cruel. This was the expulsion of the Moors from the peninsula. For more than seven hundred and fifty years the Crescent had retained its place north of the Strait of Gibraltar. The Moorish kingdom of Granada still stood, bearing witness to a civilization far more splendid than any Christian state of Spain had been able to present. In the year of 1491 a powerful army was directed against the Moslem kingdom. The Moors, unable to hold their own against overwhelming numbers, receded before the enemy, and finally withdrew into the city of Granada. Here they defended themselves until January of the following year, when the place was taken by the Christians. The Moorish sovereign, Boabdil, was obliged to retire with his people into Africa. At the first Ferdinand and Isabella did not attempt, as in the case of the Jews, to expel a whole population from the country, but only to overthrow the civil power of the Mohammedans and drive so many of the leaders as might seem to be dangerous beyond the strait.

In a few years, however, the same bigoted policy which had availed to destroy the last vestiges of Israelitish influence in the peninsula was directed against the Moorish inhabitants of Granada. In 1501 Ferdinand made an edict that all the Moslems within his dominions should either be converted to Christianity or be expelled from Spain. The royal armies were immediately put to work to carry the mandate into execution. The tide of Moorish population poured into Africa and the East until, by the middle of the sixteenth century, Spain had been drained of fully three millions of her best inhabitants. No wonder that the mind which could conceive and execute these diabolical measures was little inclined to listen approvingly to the plea of the Genoese adventurer then begging at his court for ships and men to find a new world beyond the western ocean.

The annals of ITALY in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are confused to the last degree. Political unity had, in the convulsions of the Dark Ages, been entirely destroyed. Not even Feudalism, with its chaotic institutions and cross-purposes, was more wanting in centralization and regularity of form, than were the Italian states of the centuries under consideration.

As a general fact, the feudal system never flourished south of the Alps. The narrow territorial limits of Italy, the multiplicity of her cities, and the fact that in these cities the old urban activities of the Romans continued to prevail, proved to be insurmountable obstacles to the planting and spread of Feudalism. As a consequence, municipal governments prevailed in the Italian states, after the general break up of society. The isolation of the petty powers which occupied the peninsula was as complete as that between the baronial counties and dukedoms north of the mountains; and the jealousy of small democracies, struggling for independence, and generally at war with rivals, retarded the growth of common political interests and prevented the planting of a great kingdom in Italy.

If we take a general survey of the country in the beginning of the fourteenth century, we shall be struck with the common aspect of affairs in the Italian towns and cities. It was the epoch in which the municipal liberties of these petty powers was supplanted by small aristocratic dynasties. This event was a sort of sequel to the long struggle between the

Guelphs and Ghibellines. The former party was popular or democratic in its principles, while the latter favored the aristocracy. In three of the leading cities, however—Venice, Genoa, Florence—the democracy retained its ascendency for a considerable period after the *podestas*, or petty tyrants, had obtained control of most of the Italian towns.

The period which we are now considering was, in its social aspect, one of the most forbidding in all history. Never was the morality of a people at a more hopeless ebb than was that of the Italians in the Middle Ages. It was an epoch of rapine and lawlessness. Neither property nor life had any adequate protection from society. The country was infested with robbers and brigands, who preyed with reckless audacity on whatever industry had stored in hamlet, town, or castle. The condition was desperate. Murder was the common law; security, the exception. The stiletto was the favorite argument. Hired ruffians prowled in every place where the wayfarer or tradesman was expected to pass. The soul of the age seemed devoid of conscience, and the tyrant and the priest scrupled not to use the poisoned cup. Many of the nobles kept in their employ a score of assassins, who put on visors and secreted themselves in the shadow of a wall until what time some victim of their master's treachery should pass within the wind of their cowardly daggers.

In 1312 the Emperor, Henry VII., attempted to restore the Imperial authority in Italy. Though the effort was unsuccessful, the *podestas* gained by the conflict, and the aristocracy triumphed everywhere. Pisa fell under the rule of the family of Faggiola in 1314. Two years afterwards the authority in Lucca was seized by the Castracani. In Padua, the Carrara dynasty was established in 1318. The great family of the Visconti gained the ascendency in Alessandia, Tortona, and Cremona; while Mantua was seized by the Gonzagas, and Ferrara by the Estes. Ravenna was dominated by the family of the Polenta; Verona by the Scala, and Bologna

ASSASSINATION OF A NOBLEMAN BY BANDITS.

by the Pepoli. Genoa did not accept the government of a doge until 1339. In Rome the struggle between the aristocratic and democratic factions—the latter led by that Cola di Rienzi, who has, with some propriety, been called the "last of the Roman tribunes"—continued until 1347, and was finally decided against the democracy.

CESARE BORGIA.

In the year last mentioned Italy was visited with a terrible famine, and this was followed hard after by a plague which has, perhaps, had no counterpart in history. It is recorded that *two-thirds* of the Italian people were swept away by the awful visitation. Strange it is that in the midst of these intestine feuds, and from the very horrors of starvation and pestilence, literature, science, and art sprang up and flourished. It was amid the ravages of the plague that Boccaccio's fantastic spirit sketched the passionate and half-heartless stories of the *Decamerone*.

In the latter half of the fourteenth century that power which in Italy most nearly resembled a kingdom was Naples. Queen Joanna, who held the Neapolitan scepter, was dethroned and assassinated in 1382. Charles Durazzo, who usurped her throne, met a similar fate four years afterwards, and the crown of Naples fell to the grandson of Joanna.

Passing on to the beginning of the fifteenth century, we find five principal states claiming our attention within the limits of Italy. These were Venice, Milan, Florence, Naples, and the States of the Church. The smaller powers had been either reduced to dependence or wholly extinguished. In Milan the dynasty of the Visconti was still in the ascendant. Until 1447 the members of this strong House continued in authority, and were then succeeded by the almost equally distinguished family of the Sforzas. In Florence the great House of the Medici appeared, and partly by wealth and partly by genius gained control of the state. Padua and Verona had in the mean time fallen under the ambition of Venice, whose superb spirit, reaching out from her island-founded city, stretched the hand of power as far as the Archipelago and the shores of the Euxine.

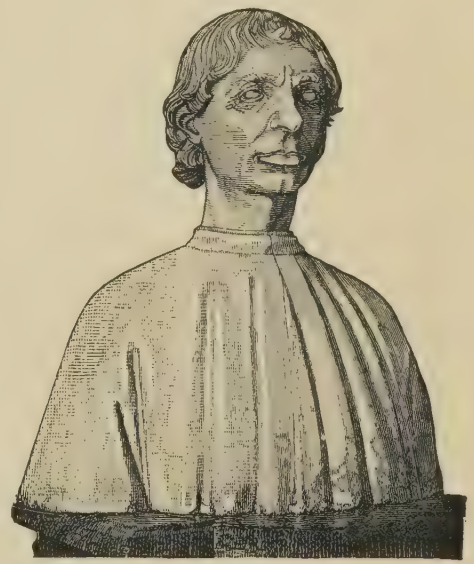
The latter half of the fifteenth century was noted for the extinction of whatever remained

in Italy of Feudalism. This work was mostly accomplished by the agency of the noted prelate and soldier, Cesare Borgia, of Valencia. After being made a cardinal in 1493, he began a war of extermination against the feudal barons and petty princes of the Papal States. Their castles and strongholds were taken, and their estates confiscated. The character which Borgia developed might well be described as infamous. When Zizim, brother of Sultan Bajazet II., came as a fugitive to Rome, Borgia, for a bribe, procured his taking-off by poison. The papal secretary Ferrata, richest of the court of Rome, was the next to fall under Cesare's treachery. Soon afterwards the body of Giovanni Borgia, duke of Gandia and brother to Cesare, was found in the Tiber, pierced with nine stabs of the stiletto; nor was the suspicion wanting that Cesare's dagger had done the work. The murdered man's estates went to augment the brother's greatness.

At this time the papal throne was held by Alexander VI., who released Cesare Borgia from his vows in order that he might marry the daughter of the king of Naples; but the scheme did not succeed. Afterwards Cesare was sent as legate of the Pope to France. In 1502 he besieged and stormed the fortress of Sinigaglia, the garrison of which, consisting of Swiss mercenaries, was slaughtered without mercy. In the next year he attempted to poison four of the wealthiest cardinals, but by mistake the draught was administered to the Pope and to *himself*. The former died, but Cesare recovered from the effects of the potion.

In the latter part of his life Borgia had many vicissitudes. For a while all Central Italy was under his dominion. Afterwards he was expelled from the Papal States by Pope Julius II. For a season he sought refuge with Gonsalvo de Cordova, the commander of Naples, by whom he was sent to Spain. On arriving in that country he was imprisoned by Ferdinand of Aragon. In 1506 he made his escape and found an asylum with his father-in-law, Jean d'Albret. In 1507 he was killed in a broil before the castle of Viana, where he was serving as a soldier under the king of Navarre.

Contemporary with this distinguished personage was the celebrated Italian statesman, Niccolo Machiavelli, of Florence. In that republic the family of this remarkable man had long held an important position. Niccolo was born in 1469. At the age of twenty-nine he entered the public service as chancellor of the government. Afterwards, he was secretary of the Florentine republic for fourteen years. While holding that important office he was charged with the public correspondence of the state. He became a diplomatist, and indeed may be considered the father of the diplomacy of Modern Europe. In the course of his life he was employed on twenty-three foreign embassies, four of which were to the court of France. From his state papers, which were



MACHIAVELLI.

models of elegance in their diction, he proceeded to the discussion of peace and war and other topics of international importance.

After the Florentine revolution of 1512, Machiavelli fell into disfavor and was persecuted. By one decree he was deprived of his offices, and by another banished from the city. In the following year he was accused of participation in a conspiracy against the Cardinal de Medici—afterwards Leo X.—and was tortured with a view to obtaining a confession. At a later period he regained in some measure the favor of the reigning House, and was again employed in important public services. Of his literary works the most important is *The Prince*, which was pub-

lished in 1532. This book has generally been regarded as a summary of all that is unscrupulous, subtle, and vile in the management of states. The "Prince" who was held up as a model appears to be an epitome of tyranny, hypocrisy, and treason. Modern criticism, however, has removed a part of the stigma from Machiavelli's name, and his work is now regarded as a kind of scientific statement of the arts by which despotic power may be acquired and preserved. Machiavelli died in 1527, and was buried in the cemetery of Santa Croce.

DEATH OF SAVONAROLA.
After a painting in the cell of Savonarola.

To this same period in Italian history belongs the story of the life and work of the reformer, Girolamo Savonarola. This noted personage began his life in Florence. At the age of twenty-three he became a Dominican friar, and in 1482 entered the convent of San Marco, in his native city. For a while he preached in the convent of Brescia, and in 1489 returned to Florence. He became a sort of prophet, who cried aloud against the pagan vices of Mediæval Italy. Great was the influence which he soon acquired over the minds of those who still had virtue enough to perceive the vices of the age. When Charles VIII. crossed the Alps, Savonarola was one of the deputation appointed to welcome the king to Florence.

In that city, for a season, none was more powerful than the Reformer. He would fain establish a theocratic republic, with Christ for its sovereign. Presently he fell under the disfavor of the Pope, by whom he was excommunicated. But Savonarola treated the ban with contempt, and continued to preach reform. In the course of time the Medici and other powerful families combined against him, and the court of Rome issued a decree of banishment. Hereupon the revolutionist who denounced all luxury and hated all art

shut himself up in the convent of San Marco. A violent contest ensued. The papal party triumphed, and Savonarola and two of his followers were taken and condemned to death. The prisoners were strangled, and their bodies burned in the public square of Florence.

The close of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century were noted in the history of Italy for the invasion of the country by the armies of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. of France. The former of these kings, as already narrated, was the son and successor of the politic and ambitious Louis XI., who played so important a part in the affairs of Western Europe. Charles VIII., being still in his boyhood when he received the crown, was of a romantic turn, and would fain imitate the exploits of Cæsar and Charlemagne. One of his earliest dreams was the conquest of Italy. From his father he had inherited an old claim to Naples, deduced from Charles of Maine. In 1494 the French king raised and equipped a powerful army, and made his rendezvous at the foot of the Alps. The immediate occasion of the expedition was an invitation which Charles had received from Ludovico Sforza of Milan, who had made a plot for the usurpation of that duchy. To this end he had poisoned his nephew, the reigning duke.

At this juncture a sedition occurred in Florence, by which Piero de Medici was about to be overthrown. But in order to save himself, he too invited Charles to cross the Alps, and tempted him with a promise of the Tuscan fortresses and a loan of two hundred thousand florins. For this debasing proposition the Medici were expelled. None the less, Charles came over the mountains and took possession of Florence.

From that city he proceeded to Rome with an army of fifty thousand men. Alexander VI. was obliged to yield to the conqueror. Charles then made his way to the South. Alfonso II. of Naples abdicated at his approach, and the Neapolitan capital was taken by the French, whom the people received as deliverers. Soon afterwards, however, a reaction occurred, and Charles was obliged to retire from his recent conquest. The Pope refused him a coveted coronation, and on making his way northward into Lombardy he was met at Tornovo by an army of Italian allies four times as numerous as his own. The French, however, prevailed by superior courage and discipline, and the allies were routed from the field.

No sooner had Charles departed from Naples than revolt broke out behind him. His power disappeared more rapidly than it had been established. Ferdinand II., to whom Alfonso had resigned the crown, came back in triumph, and the affairs of Italy returned to their old complexion.

Not dissimilar in character to the expedition of Charles VIII. were the Italian invasions of Louis XII., who in 1498 succeeded him on the French throne. Louis was in high favor with the papacy, and from the day of his coronation determined to make good his claim to the duchy of Milan. In 1499 he crossed the Alps with a large army and in a few weeks succeeded in his purpose. Ludovico Sforza was captured and sent a prisoner to France. He then proceeded, in collusion with Ferdinand of Aragon, to divide the kingdom of Naples between himself and his ally. Soon, however, they quarreled over the spoils and the French were defeated in the battle of Seminara by the famous Gonsalvo de Cordova, general of Ferdinand of Aragon. Louis was expelled from southern Italy.

For several years the French king was in ill health in his own dominions. During this time the Princess Claude, daughter of Louis and Anne of Brittany, was given in marriage to Francis of Angoulême, by which event the way was paved for a change in the dynasty. In 1507 Louis made successful war on Genoa, and in the following year formed with Emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand of Aragon, and Pope Julius II. the celebrated League of Cambrai with a view to the extinction of the Republic of Venice. Nor is it likely that the league would have failed in its object but for the defection of the Pope. In 1509 Louis made a campaign against the Venetians and overthrew them in the great battle of AGNADELLO. The state of Venice was for a season brought to the verge of extinction, but was saved by the action of the Pope, who went over to the Venetian side and took with him the Emperor and Henry VIII. of England. The war, conducted on the part of the French

by the great general, Gaston de Foix, continued until the death of that commander at Ravenna, and his army was finally defeated in the battle of Novara in 1513.—Such were the beginnings of the long struggle of the French for the mastery of Italy.

LOUIS XII. AT THE BATTLE OF AGNADELLO.
Drawn by A. de Neuville

Sweeping around to the north of Europe, we enter again the kingdom of SWEDEN. At the close of the thirteenth century the throne was occupied by MAGNUS LADULAS, surnamed the Barnlock—a title which he had earned by protecting the granaries of the Swedish peasants against the rapacity of the lords. After his death Sweden was plunged into contentions and strifes; for, like Edward III. of England and Philip IV. of France, Magnus had three sons to contend for the succession.

These turmoils were not settled until the year 1319, when MAGNUS SMEK became king, to the exclusion of other claimants. In the following year, by the death of his mother, he inherited the crown of Norway, and thus united the two kingdoms in one. But he chose to constitute Norway a kind of viceroyalty under the government of his son, King Haco, already several times mentioned in the preceding pages. Magnus was one of the most politic sovereigns of the century. His ambition brooded over the plan of uniting all the Northern kingdoms in one. To this end he contrived a marriage between Haco and Margaret, daughter of Waldemar, king of Denmark. His next project was to secure the aid of the allied Scandinavian kings in an effort to overthrow the senate and establish a purer monarchy in the North.

But this movement proved a failure. An insurrection broke out and Magnus was dethroned. In 1363 Prince Albert of Mecklenburg was elected to the Swedish throne; but the kings of Norway and Denmark refused to acknowledge his sovereignty. A war hereupon ensued, and Albert was defeated. Another period of civil discord followed, and the country was rent with factions until near the close of the century. At last a reäction ensued in favor of the work and policy of Magnus Smek—a certain tendency to consolidate all the Norse states into a common government. This resulted, in 1397, in that great treaty known as the Union of Calmar, by which Sweden, Norway, and Denmark were bound together in a confederated monarchy. The union was effected under the auspices of Queen MARGARET, known as the Semiramis of the North. With great firmness she assumed the duties of monarch of all Scandinavia, and continued on the throne until her death in 1412.

The crown of the united kingdoms then fell to the grand-nephew, ERIC of Pomerania. Without the strength of will and character which Margaret possessed, he undertook the difficult task of controlling the politics of the Baltic states, scarcely less stormy than the sea itself. The union was with difficulty maintained until 1434, when the Swedes, led by a certain patriot called Engelbert, who had been a miner in Dalecarlia, revolted, and the insurrection gathered such head as to portend imminent overthrow to the monarchy. But just as success seemed within his grasp, Engelbert was assassinated. The revolt fell to pieces, and the Union of Calmar was saved from disruption.

After a reign of twenty-seven years Eric was dethroned to make room for his nephew, CHRISTOPHER of Bavaria, who ruled Sweden with moderate success until his death in 1448. Hereupon a certain CARL KNUDSSON, who had held the office of regent under Eric of Pomerania, was chosen for the succession. But his election had the sanction of neither heredity nor common sense. Under his auspices and those of his successors the Union of Calmar was upheld with more or less firmness until the close of the century. But civil strifes were frequent, and the progress of civilization was greatly retarded. Not until the first quarter of the sixteenth century, when GUSTAVUS VASA appeared on the scene, did the native vigor of the Swedes begin to flourish under a comparatively liberal government.

Turning to NORWAY, we find that country conquering Iceland in the year 1261. This work was effected by HACO V., who, in the following year, was defeated in a battle near the mouth of the Clyde. After this there was a period of retrogression in Norway. The constant wars of Denmark exhausted the energies of the kingdom. The industries of the Norwegians were retarded by a monopoly which was obtained by the Hanseatic League. During the first half of the fourteenth century Norway declined under these adverse influences until her power was little felt, even in the affairs of the North. In 1348 the great plague known as the Black Death broke out in the kingdom; and, if the horrid traditions of

the times may be trusted, two-thirds of the people were swept into the grave. It is probable that no other European state suffered to an equal degree in proportion to population.

Meanwhile, in 1319, after the death of

THE SEMIRAMIS OF THE NORTH.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

Haco VII., the Swedes obtained the Norwegian throne, and held it through two successive reigns. The country was merged first with Sweden and afterwards with Denmark, and so complete was the national abasement under foreign rule that the people lost their language, and spoke thenceforth a broken form of Swedish and Danish. The marriage of HACO VIII. with the daughter of Waldemar of Denmark has already been mentioned. This Haco reigned until 1380, when he was succeeded by his son, OLAF III., as ruler of the maternal kingdom as well as Sweden. Henceforth the two kingdoms were ruled as one. Olaf gave place to his daughter MARGARET the Great, under whom, as already narrated, the Union of Calmar was effected. It was in the terms of this great compact that the three kingdoms of the North should retain their respective laws and usages under a common government. It happened, however, that the Norwegians were unable to do so. Already weakened by previous disasters, the local institutions of that country gave way under pressure of foreign influence. The Danish nobles came over in such numbers as to do for Norway what the Normans did for Saxon England after the Conquest. The native nobility was reduced to beggary and destroyed. It appears that of the three states which were amalgamated under the Union of Calmar, Norway suffered most in her local interests, and it was not until the sixteenth century that she began to revive from her long and enforced lethargy.

The history of DENMARK during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries presents few points of interest. She was important to Mediæval Europe rather for what she *sent out* than for what she retained. For it was from her borders that most of the sea-kings, rovers, pirates, buccaneers of the Middle Ages went forth to devastate the shores of other kingdoms, and to spread terror wherever the name of Dane was known. After the Union of Calmar in 1397 Denmark remained an integral part of the united kingdom. Indeed, it was under Danish rather than Swedish auspices that that famous compact was formed and upheld. Margaret herself was half Dane in blood and wholly a Dane in sympathy and purpose. It will be remembered that her suc-

DEFEAT OF THE KHAN OF KAZAN.

cessor Eric was deposed in 1439, and that the Danish states chose as his successor Christopher of Bavaria, who reigned for nine years. At his death, in 1448, another election was held, and the crown fell to Count CHRISTIAN of Oldenburg, who in his turn transmitted it to his grandson, CHRISTIAN II.[1] It was in the reign of Christian of Oldenburg that America was revealed to Europe.

Turning to RUSSIA, we find the throne occupied in the middle of the thirteenth century

IVAN THE GREAT.

by ALEXANDER NEVSKI. From being Prince of Novgorod he extended his dominion over the Livonians and Lithuanians, and by his successes in war made himself almost independent of the Monguls. It was, however, nearly three-quarters of a century before IVAN I., surnamed Kalita, Prince of Moscow, beat back the Tartar invaders and became, in some sense, the founder of the nationality of Modern Russia. He joined the province of Tver with that of Moscow, beautified his capital, and began the reconstruction of the Kremlin. Strange that he should have voluntarily given up the greatness of Imperial state for the seclusion of a monastery.

In 1380, one of the successors of Ivan, named DEMETRIUS DONSKI, fought a great battle with the Mongols on the Don, in which a hundred thousand of the enemy are said to have fallen. Two years later, however, the Mongols returned to the conflict, captured and burned Vladimir and Moscow, and slaughtered in the latter city twenty-four thousand of the inhabitants. A peace was secured only by enormous sacrifices on the part of Russia.

For a while the coming Empire of the great North lay dormant. Not until the reign of BASIL II., who held the throne from 1389 to 1425, did Russia revive from the effects of her defeat by the Mongols and the civil dissensions that ensued between the king and the nobles. In the time of Basil, Nizhni Novgorod and Suzdal were added to the principality of Moscow. Between the years 1425 and 1462 the countries of Malicz, Mozhaisk, and Borovsk were incorporated with the growing Empire. At the later date just mentioned IVAN III., surnamed the Great, ascended the throne and undertook the expulsion of the Mongols. In 1469 he won a victory over the Khan of Kazan, and soon afterwards notified the ambassadors of the Mongol Emperor that Russia would now send him no more tribute. Nor could the Grand Khan any more enforce the payment. Ivan continued his conquests and annexations of territory down to the close of the century, and was so engaged when the prows of the ships of Columbus were set to the west from the harbor of Palos.

Such is the outline of the progress of Europe towards the light during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of our era. It is possible to discover in the slow, tortuous, and confused movements of the epoch a certain

[1] It is a notable circumstance in the history of the Danish kings that since the reign of Christian II. all the monarchs have been named Christian or Frederick by alternation.

ALEXANDER NEVSKI.

DEMETRIUS DONSKI.

THE MONGOLS CROSSING THE DON.

tendency which might almost be called a law, a kind of process of resolution by which the mediæval forms of society were dissolved and poured into a new and grander mould. In general this movement tended to the destruction of whatever Feudal Europe had transmitted to the times of which we speak, and to building upon the ruins the institution of MONARCHY as the governing fact and of the PEOPLE as the governed fact in the history of the Modern World. This is the true philosophy of the historic period the annals of which are sketched in the present Book. The same can not be better concluded than in the language of the illustrious Guizot, who, in summing up the results of the general progress of human society and institutions in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, gives the following *résumé:*

"Indeed, to whatever country of Europe we cast our eyes, whatever portion of its history we consider, whether it relates to the nations themselves or their governments, to their territories or their institutions, we everywhere see the old elements, the old forms of society, disappearing. Those liberties which were founded on tradition were lost; new powers arose, more regular and concentrated than those which previously existed. There is something deeply melancholy in this view of the fall of the ancient liberties of Europe. Even in its own time it inspired feelings of the utmost bitterness. In France, in Germany, and above all, in Italy, the patriots of the fifteenth century resisted with ardor, and lamented with despair, that revolution which everywhere produced the rise of what they were entitled to call despotism. We must admire their courage and feel for their sorrow; but at the same time we must be aware that this revolution was not only inevitable, but useful. The primitive system of Europe—the old feudal and municipal liberties—had failed in the organization of a general society. Security and progress are essential to social existence. Every system which does not provide for present order, and progressive advancement for the future, is vicious, and speedily abandoned. And this was the fate of the old political forms of society, of the ancient liberties of Europe in the fifteenth century."

MAP XIII.

VOYAGE AND DISCOVERY,

SHOWING

THE PRINCIPAL ROUTES

OF

THE EARLY NAVIGATORS.

30
20
10
0
10
20
ARCTIC CIRCLE
ICELAND
Lief Erickson 1001
NORWAY
SWEDEN
BRITISH ISLES
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
NORTH SEA
ENGLAND
CHANNEL
HOL LAND
BELGIUM
GERMANY
RUSSIA
ENGLISH
FRANCE
AUSTRIA
BAY OF BISCAY
ITALY
EUROPE
Cape Finisterre
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Azores
Madeiras
Strait of Gibraltar
Canaries
CANCER
AFRICA
Cape Blanco
Magellan 1519
Cape Verde Ids.
De Gama 1498
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
47
57
67
77
87
97

Book Seventeenth.

NEW WORLD AND REFORMATION.

CHAPTER XCIX.—LAND, HO!

WAS the World flat or round? Had the Ocean another shore? What kind of a verge or precipice was drawn around the cloudy rim of Nature? What vision of wonder and peril might arise upon the mariner's sight—

"Beyond the extreme sea-wall and between the remote sea-gates?"

If a man go, could he return again?

Such were the queries with which the adventurous brain of New Europe began to busy itself as the shadows of the Epoch of Darkness rolled away to the horizon. The vigorous sailors of the maritime Republics and the daring travelers who had gone *up* to Jerusalem and thence *down* to India thought they perceived the sphericity of the earth, that the Holy City was on the crest or ridge of the world! More particularly did those who journeyed northward and southward behold the stars rising overhead or sinking to the horizon in a way unaccountable except on the notion that the earth is round.

From the shores of Portugal and Spain, from Brest and Land's End, from the Skager Rack, the Orkneys and Iceland, the man of the fourteenth century looked wistfully, thoughtfully, to the Ocean of Atlas. He would fain try his power in that world of waters where

"Descends on the Atlantic
The gigantic
Storm-wind of the Equinox."

Rumor, tradition, said that others had gone and come again in safety. The old Knight of St. Albans, Sir John de Mandeville, coming home from the far East in the thirtieth year of Edward III., thus discourses on the problem which after a hundred and forty years was to receive a final solution at the hands of Columbus and Cabot:

"Wherefore men may easily perceive that *the land and the sea are of round shape and figure.* For that part of the firmament which is seen in one country is not seen in another. And men may prove both by experience and sound reasoning that if a man, having passage by ship, should go to search the world, *he might with his vessel sail around the world, both above and under it.* This proposition I prove as follows: I have myself in Prussia seen the North Star by the astrolabe fifty-three degrees above the horizon. Further on in Bohemia it rises

to the height of fifty-eight degrees. And still farther northward it is sixty-two degrees and some minutes high. I myself have so measured it. Now the South Pole Star is, as I have said, opposite the North Pole Star. And about these poles the whole celestial sphere revolves like a wheel about the axle; and the firmament is thus divided into two equal parts. From the North I have turned southward, passed the equator, and found that in Libya the Antarctic Star first appears above the horizon. Farther on in those lands that star rises higher, until in southern Libya it reaches the height of eighteen degrees and certain minutes, sixty minutes making a degree. After going by sea and by land towards that country [Australia, perhaps] of which I have spoken, I have found the Antarctic Star more than thirty-three degrees above the horizon. *And if I had had company and shipping to go still farther, I know of a certainty that I should have seen the whole circumference of the heavens. . . . And I repeat that men may environ the whole world, as well under as above, and return to their own country, if they had company, and ships, and conduct.* And always, as well as in their own land, shall they find inhabited continents and islands. For know you well that they who dwell in the southern hemisphere are feet against feet of them who dwell in the northern hemisphere, *just as we and they that dwell under us are feet to feet.* For every part of the sea and the land hath its antipode. . . . Moreover, when men go on a journey toward India and the foreign islands, they do, on the whole route, circle the circumference of the earth, even to those countries which are under us. And therefore hath that same thing, which I heard recited when I was young, happened many times. Howbeit, upon a time, a worthy man departed from our country to explore the world. And so he passed India and the islands beyond India—more than five thousand in number—and so long he went by sea and land, environing the world for many seasons, that he found an island where he heard them speaking his own language, hallooing at the oxen in the plow with the identical words spoken to beasts in his own country. Forsooth, he was astonished; for he knew not how the thing might happen. But I assure you that he had gone so far by land and sea that he had actually gone around the world and was come again through the long circuit to his own district. It only remained for him to go forth and find his particular neighborhood. Unfortunately he turned from the coast which he had reached and thereby lost all his painful labor, as he himself afterwards acknowledged when he returned home. For it happened by and by that he went into Norway, being driven thither by a storm; and there he recognized an island as being the same in which he had heard men calling the oxen in his own tongue; and that was a possible thing. And yet it seemeth to simple unlearned rustics that men may not go around the world, and if they did *they would fall off!* But that absurd thing never could happen unless we ourselves, from where we are, should fall toward heaven! For upon what part soever of the earth men dwell, whether above or under, it always seemeth to them that they walk more perpendicularly than other folks! And just as it seemeth to us that our antipodes are under us head downwards, just so it seemeth to them that we are under them head downwards. If a man might fall from the earth towards heaven, by much more reason the earth itself, being so heavy, should fall to heaven—an impossible thing."

It were perhaps useless to conjecture at what time and in what way this belief in the sphericity of the earth and in the existence of a New World beyond the waters became diffused in the minds of men. The spread of such an idea, as of all others tending to the betterment of mankind, was first among the radicals and disturbers of that torpid society which, in conjunction with a still more torpid Church, held possession of Europe in the fourteenth century.

History deals with facts rather than with theories. She looks to that which may be weighed, seen, handled—the tangible results of antecedent mental concepts and forces. A comprehensive and philosophical history would trace all things back along the lines of causation to their ultimate origin. A work like the present must be content to sketch an outline of the facts of civilization, pausing only at intervals to note the forces which have produced them.

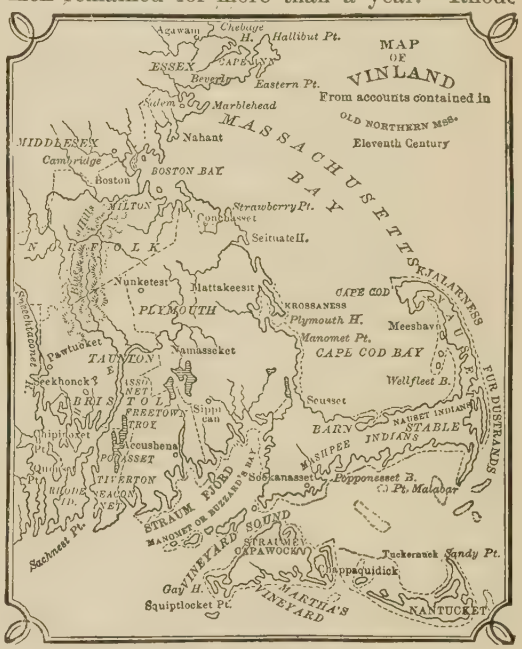
It appears, then, that while it remained for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to make an

actual revelation of the New World to the Old, the former had been touched and traversed, at least in some of its north-eastern coasts, as much as five hundred years previously. Since 1838, when through the efforts of Rafn and the Royal Society of Copenhagen the Scandinavian Sagas have been submitted to the critical judgment of Europe, all ground of doubt has been removed relative to the Norse discoveries in the West at the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century. It is now conceded that Labrador, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the north-eastern parts of the United States were visited, and, to a limited extent, colonized, before the Norman conquest of England. While old Sweyn was flaunting the Danish raven in the face of Ethelred the Unready; while Robert I., son of Hugh Capet, was on the throne of France; while the Saxon Otho III. swayed the destinies of Germany; and while the Caliphate of Baghdad was still flourishing under the Abbassides, men of the Aryan race were establishing a feeble communication between the New World and Iceland. It is appropriate to give a brief account of the voyages and explorations made by the Norse adventurers along the coast of America.

From the Sagas above referred to we learn that the Western continent was first seen by White men in the year 986. A Norse navigator by the name of HERJULFSON, sailing from Iceland to Greenland, was caught in a storm and driven westward to Newfoundland or Labrador. Two or three times the shores were seen, but no landing was made or attempted. The coast was low, abounding in forests, and so different from the well-known cliffs of Greenland as to make it certain that another shore hitherto unknown was in sight. On reaching Greenland, Herjulfson and his companions told wonderful stories of the new lands seen in the West.[1]

[1] It is proper to say, once for all, that in the subsequent chapters of the present work the Author will, in those parts relating to American History, employ freely the matter already prepared and published in his *Popular History of the United States*. He will make, in the paragraphs thus re-presented from the stand-point of General History, such changes and additions and abridgments only as have been suggested by further study or the criticism of candid friends.

Fourteen years later, the actual discovery of America was made by LEIF ERICKSON. This noted Icelandic captain, resolving to know the truth about the country which Herjulfson had seen, sailed westward from Greenland, and in the spring of the year 1001 reached Labrador. Impelled by a spirit of adventure, he landed with his companions, and made explorations for a considerable distance along the coast. The country was milder and more attractive than his own, and he was in no haste to return. Southward he went as far as Massachusetts, where the daring company of Norsemen remained for more than a year. Rhode



NORSE EXPLORATIONS.

Island was also visited; and it is alleged that the hardy adventurers found their way into New York harbor.

What has once been done, whether by accident or design, may easily be done again. In the years that followed Leif Erickson's discovery, other companies of Norsemen came to the shores of America. THORWALD, Leif's brother, made a voyage to Maine and Massachusetts in 1002, and is said to have died at Fall River, in the latter state. Then another brother, THORSTEIN by name, arrived with a band of followers in 1005; and in the year 1007, THORFINN KARLSEFNE, the most distinguished mariner of his day, came with a crew of a hundred and fifty men, and made explo-

rations along the coast of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and perhaps as far south as the capes of Virginia. Other companies of Icelanders

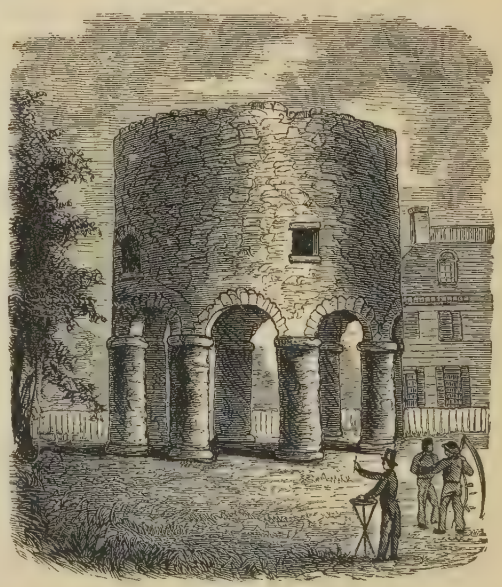
NORSE SEA-KING OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

and Norwegians visited the countries farther north, and planted colonies in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. Little, however, was known or imagined by these rude sailors of the extent of the country which they had discovered. They supposed that it was only a portion of Western Greenland, which, bending to the north around an arm of the ocean, had reappeared in the west. The settlements which were made, were feeble and soon broken up. Commerce was an impossibility in a country where there were only a few wretched savages with no disposition to buy and nothing at all to sell. The spirit of adventure was soon appeased, and the restless Northmen returned to their own country. To this undefined line of coast, now vaguely known to them, the Norse sailors gave the name of VINLAND; and the old Icelandic chroniclers insist that it was a pleasant and beautiful country. As compared with their own mountainous and frozen island of the North, the coasts of New England may well have seemed delightful.

The men who thus first visited the shores of the New World were a race of hardy adventurers, as lawless and restless as any that ever sailed the deep. Their mariners and soldiers penetrated every clime. As already narrated, the better parts of France and England fell under their dominion. All the monarchs of the latter country after William the Conqueror—himself the grandson of a sea-king—are descendants of the Norsemen. They were rovers of the sea; freebooters and pirates; warriors audacious and headstrong, wearing hoods surmounted with eagles' wings and walruses' tusks, mailed armor, and for robes the skins of polar bears. Woe to the people on whose defenseless coasts the sea-kings landed with sword and torch! Their wayward life and ferocious disposition are well portrayed in one of their own old ballads:

> He scorns to rest 'neath the smoky rafter,
> He plows with his boat the roaring deep;
> The billows boil and the storm howls after—
> But the tempest is only a thing of laughter—
> The sea-king loves it better than sleep!

During the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries occasional voyages continued to be made by the men of the North, and it is said that as late as the year 1347 a Norwegian ship visited Labrador and the north-eastern parts of the United States. The Norse remains which have been found at Newport, at Garnet Point, and several other places, seem



OLD STONE TOWER AT NEWPORT.

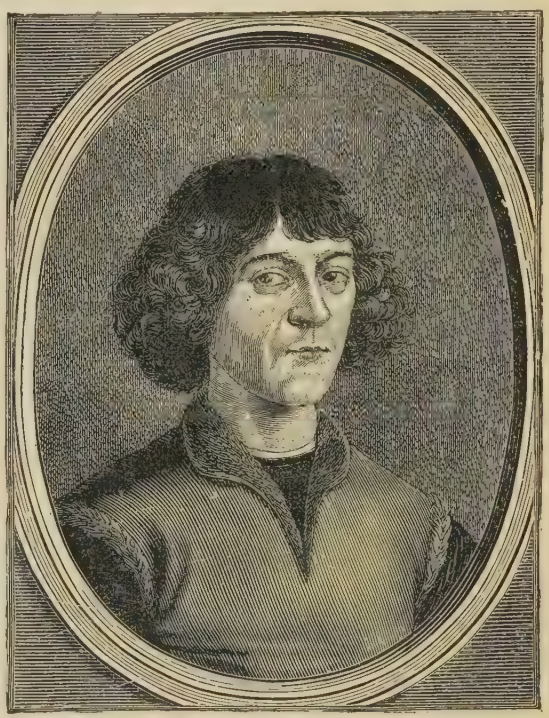
to point clearly to some such events as are here described; and the Icelandic historians give a uniform and tolerably consistent ac-

count of these early exploits of their countrymen. When the word *America* is mentioned in the hearing of the Icelandic schoolboys, they will at once answer with enthusiasm, "O, yes; Leif Erickson discovered that country in the year 1001."

An event is to be weighed by its consequences. From the discovery of America by the Norsemen, nothing whatever resulted. The world was neither wiser nor better. Among the Icelanders themselves, the place and the very name of Vinland were forgotten. Europe never heard of such a country or such a discovery. Historians have, until the last half century, been incredulous on the subject, and the fact is as though it had never been. The curtain which had been lifted for a moment was stretched again from sky to sea, and the New World still lay hidden in the shadows.

It is not impossible that before the final relinquishment of America by the Norse adventurers, a sea-wanderer from rugged Wales had touched our Eastern shores. It is claimed that the Welsh Prince MADOC was not less fortunate than Leif Erickson in finding the Western shore of the Atlantic. But the evidence of such an exploit is far less satisfactory than that by which the Icelandic discoveries have been authenticated. According to the legend which the Cambrian chroniclers with patriotic pride have preserved, and the poet Southey has transmitted, Madoc was the son of the Welsh King Owen Gwynnedd, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. At this time a civil disturbance occurred in Wales, and Prince Madoc was obliged to save himself by flight. With a small fleet, he left the country in the year 1170, and, after sailing westward for several weeks, came to an unknown country, beautiful and wild, inhabited by a strange race of men, unlike people of Europe. For some time, the prince and his sailors tarried in the new land, delighted with its exuberance, and with the salubrious climate. Then, all but twenty of the daring company set sail, and returned to Wales. It was the intention of Madoc to make preparations and return again. Ten ships were accordingly fitted out, and the leader and his adventurous crew a second time set their prows to the West. The vessels dropped out of sight one by one, and were never heard of more.—The thing may have happened.

While the sun of chivalry set and the expiring energies of Feudalism ebbed away in Europe; while the Elder Capets gave place to the Houses of Valois and Orleans in France; and while the bloody wars of York and Lancaster made England desolate and barren, the mystery of the Atlantic still lay unsolved under the shadows of the West. At last Louis XI. rose above the ruins of Feudal France, and Henry VII. over the fragments of broken England. In Spain Ferdinand and Isabella,



COPERNICUS.

expelling both the Jew and the Mohammedan, consolidated the kingdom, and prepared the way for the Spanish ascendency in the times of their grandson. It now remained for this kingdom to become the patron and to receive the credit of that great enterprise by which a New World was to be given first to Castile and Leon, and afterwards to mankind. As to him who was destined to make the glorious discovery, his birth had been reserved for Italy—land of olden valor and home of so much greatness. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS was the name of him whom after ages have justly rewarded with imperishable fame.

As already indicated, the idea of the sphericity of the earth was not original with Columbus. Others before him had held a similar belief; but the opinion had been so feebly and uncertainly entertained as to lead to no practical results. Copernicus, the Prussian astronomer, had not yet taught, nor had Galileo, the great Italian, yet demonstrated, the true system of the universe. But though others had accepted the idea that the world is round, and had dreamed of the possibility of circumnavigation, none had been bold enough to undertake so hazardous an enterprise. Columbus was, no doubt, the first *practical* believer in the theory of circumnavigation; and although he never sailed around the world himself, he demonstrated the possibility of doing so. The great mistake made by him and others who shared his opinions was not concerning the *figure* of the earth, but in regard to its *size*. He believed the world to be no more than ten thousand or twelve thousand miles in circumference. He, therefore, confidently expected that after sailing about three thousand miles to the westward he should arrive at the East Indies. To do that was the great purpose of his life.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

Christopher Columbus was born at Genoa, in the year 1435. He was carefully educated, and then devoted himself to the sea. His ancestors had been seamen before him. His own inclination as well as his early training made him a sailor. For twenty years he traversed the Mediterranean and the parts of the Atlantic adjacent to Europe; he visited Iceland, and then turned to the south. The idea of reaching the Indies by crossing the Ocean had already possessed him.

Few things in human history are more touching than the story of the struggles of Columbus. His first formal application was made to John II., of Portugal. By that sovereign the matter presented was referred to a body of learned men who declared the project to be absurd. In the next place the adventurer left Lisbon, and in 1484 went to Spain. At the same time he made application to the courts of Genoa and Venice, but both refused to aid him. He next appealed to the dukes of Southern Spain, and by them was turned away. He then repaired to Cordova, and from that place followed the Spanish court to Salamanca. At last he was introduced to the king, who heard him with indifference, and then turned him over to a Council of Ecclesiastics. This body, instead of considering the scientific possibility of the thing, brought out the Scriptures to show the impiety of the project, and declared that it was not becoming in great princes to engage in such a work.

Thus for years together was the lofty spirit of Columbus buffeted by the ignorance of the age. In 1491 he set out for the court of France to submit his plans to Charles VIII. On his way he was stopped at the monastery of La Rabida, and chanced to state his great enterprise to the Prior, De Marchena. The latter had been the queen's confessor, and so much was he now interested that he mounted his mule at midnight and rode to Sante Fé, where Isabella was, to persuade her to lend her aid. Columbus explained in person to Ferdinand and Isabella the nature of his plans. The king in answer declared that the Spanish treasury was empty, but the queen gave this ever-memorable answer: "I undertake the enterprise for my own crown of Castile, and will pledge my jewels to raise the necessary funds." Be it never forgotten that to the faith

and insight and decision of a woman the final success of Columbus must be attributed.

On the morning of the third day of August, 1492, Columbus, with his three ships, left the harbor of Palos. After seventy-one days of sailing, in the early dawn of October 12th, Rodrigo Triana, who chanced to be on the lookout from the Pinta, set up a shout of "*Land!*" A gun was fired as the signal. The

THE NIGHT OF OCTOBER 11TH, 1492.

ships lay to. There was music and jubilee; and just at sunrise Columbus himself first stepped ashore, shook out the royal banner of

Castile in the presence of the wondering natives, and named the island San Salvador.[1] During the three remaining months of this first voyage, the islands of Concepcion, Cuba, and Hayti were added to the list of discoveries; and on the bay of Caracola, in the last named island, was erected out of the timbers of the *Santa Maria* a fort, the first structure built by Europeans in the New World. In the early part of January, 1493, Columbus sailed for Spain, where he arrived in March, nearly three years, Columbus returned to Spain in the summer of 1496—returned to find himself the victim of a thousand bitter jealousies and suspicions. All the rest of his life was clouded with persecutions and misfortunes. He made a third voyage, discovered the island of Trinidad and the main-land of South America, near the mouth of the Orinoco. Thence he sailed back to Hayti, where he found his colony disorganized; and here, while attempting to restore order, he was seized by Boba-

COLUMBUS APPEALING TO THE SUPERSTITION OF THE NATIVES.

and was everywhere greeted with rejoicings and applause.

In September of the following autumn Columbus sailed on his second voyage. He still believed that by this route westward he should reach, if indeed he had not already reached, the Indies. The result of the second voyage was the discovery of the Windward group and the islands of Jamaica and Porto Rico. It was at this time that the first colony was established in Hayti, and Columbus's brother appointed governor. After an absence of

[1] The aboriginal name of the island was *Guanahani*.

dilla, an agent of the Spanish government, put in chains, and carried to Spain. After a disgraceful imprisonment he was liberated and sent on a fourth and last voyage in search of the Indies; but besides making some explorations along the south side of the Gulf of Mexico, the expedition accomplished nothing, and Columbus, overwhelmed with discouragements returned once more to his ungrateful country. The good Isabella was dead, and the great discoverer found himself at last a friendless and despised old man tottering into the grave. Death came, and fame afterward.

Of all the wrongs done to the memory of

Columbus, perhaps the greatest was that which robbed him of the name of the new continent. This was bestowed upon one of the least worthy of the many adventurers whom the genius and success of Columbus had drawn to the west. In the year 1499, AMERIGO VESPUCCI, a Florentine navigator of some daring but no great celebrity, reached the Eastern coast of South America. It does not appear that his explorations there were of any great importance. Two years later he made a second voyage, and then hastened home to give to Europe the first published account of the Western World. Vespucci's only merit consisted in his recognition of the fact that the recent discoveries were not a portion of that India already known, but were in reality another continent. In his published narrative, all reference to Columbus was carefully omitted; and thus, through his own craft, assisted by the unappreciative dullness of the times, the name of this Vespucci, rather than that of the true discoverer, was given to the New World.

VESPUCCI.

The discovery of America produced great excitement throughout the states of Western Europe. In Spain, especially, there was wonderful zeal and enthusiasm.

SEPULCHER OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA IN THE CATHEDRAL OF GRENADA.

Within ten years after the death of Columbus, the principal islands of the West Indies were explored and colonized. In the year 1510, the Spaniards planted on the Isthmus of Darien their first continental colony. Three years later, VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA, the governor of the colony, learning from the natives that another ocean lay only a short distance to the westward, crossed the isthmus, and from an eminence looked down upon the PACIFIC. Not satisfied with merely seeing the great water, he waded in a short distance, and, drawing his sword after the pompous Spanish fashion, took possession of the ocean in the name of the king of Spain.

Meanwhile, JUAN PONCE DE LEON, who had been a companion of Columbus on his second voyage, fitted out a private expedition of discovery and adventure. De Leon had

grown rich as governor of Porto Rico, and while growing rich had also grown old. But there was a fountain of perpetual youth somewhere in the Bahamas—so said all the learning and intelligence of Spain—and in that fountain the wrinkled old cavalier would bathe and be young again. So in the year 1512 he set sail from Porto Rico; and stopping first at San Salvador and the neighboring islands, he came, on Easter Sunday, the 27th of March, in sight of an unknown shore. He supposed that another island more beautiful than the rest was discovered. There were waving forests, green leaves, birds of song, and the fragrance of blossoms. Partly in honor of the day, called in the ritual of the Church *Pascua Florida*, and partly to describe the delightful landscape that opened on his sight, he named the new shore FLORIDA—the Land of Flowers.

After a few days a landing was effected a short distance north of where, a half century later, were laid the foundations of St. Augustine. The country was claimed for the king of Spain, and the search for the youth-restoring fountain was eagerly prosecuted. The romantic adventurer turned southward, explored the coast for many leagues, discovered and named the Tortugas, doubled Cape Florida, and then sailed back to Porto Rico, not perceptibly younger than when he started.

BALBOA TAKES POSSESSION OF THE PACIFIC.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

1000 1100 1200 1300 1400 1500 1600

Central Period of the Middle Ages.
24. Conrad II.
35. Union of Castile and Leon.
39. Henry the Black.
56. Henry IV
HOUSE OF CAPET IN FRANCE.
17. Canute.
40. Hardicanute.
42. Edward the Confessor.
66. Harold.
66. William I.
87. William Rufus.
Henry I.
DANISH KINGS IN ENGLAND.
The NORMANS.

52. Frederick Barbarossa.
The CRUSADES.
99. The Kingdom of Jerusalem established.
8. Louis VI.
The different Orders of Knighthood established.
37. Louis VII.
54. Henry II.
89. Richard I.
99. John.
The PLANTAGENETS.

80. The Kingdom of Jerusalem overthrown.
26. Louis IX.
71. Conquest of Ireland.
80. Philip II.
38. Struggle of the Guelphs and Ghibellines.
Wars of the Barons.
15. Magna Charta granted.
72. Edward I.
HEROIC AGE.

85. Philip IV.
16. Philip V.
28. HOUSE OF VALOIS.
7. Edward II.
Wickliffe.
27. Edward III.

15. John Huss.
35. Columbus born.
56. First book written in English, in which the author, Sir John Mandeville, declares the spherical figure of the earth and the practicability of circumnavigation.
80. Charles VI.
11-31. Joan of Arc.
22. Charles VII.
61. Louis XI.
77. Richard II.
Wars of the Roses.
The LANCASTERS.
99. Henry IV.
13. Henry V.
22. Henry VI.
61. Edward IV.
83. Edward V.
83. Richard III.

98. De Gama doubles the Cape of Good Hope and reaches the East Indies.
Luther.
Printing Invented.
The Reformation.
9. John Calvin.
74. Ferdinand and Isabella.
The TUDORS.
85. Henry VII.
9. Henry VIII.
47. Edward VI.
53. Mary.
58. Elizabeth.

48. Treaty of Westphalia.
72. St. Bartholomew.
89. Henry IV.
10. Louis XIII.
43. Louis XIV.
The PURITANS.
3. James I.
25. Charles I.
The STUARTS.

1. Leif Erickson, an Icelandic navigator, sailing westward from Greenland, discovers the coast of Labrador, and makes explorations as far south as Rhode Island.
Bjarne Herjulfson driven by a storm within sight of the American coast A. D. 986.
2. Thorwald Erickson returns to America and remains three years.
5. Thorstein Erickson comes to America.
7. Thorfinn Karlsefne explores the coast of Massachusetts.
11. Expedition of Freydis to Vinland.

THE WESTERN CONTINENT UNKNOWN TO THE EUROPEAN NATIONS.

21. Erik Upsi sent as bishop to Vinland.

DOUBTFUL ICELANDIC AND NORWEGIAN VOYAGES.

70. Alleged discovery of America by Madoc, the Welshman.

50. The great plague depopulates Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland; communication with the New World is cut off.
47. A company of Norsemen in America.
77. Columbus visits Iceland and learns of the New World.

92. Columbus discovers the West Indies.
93. Second voyage.
98. Third voyage.
98. Discovers America.
99. Amerigo Vespucci makes a voyage to South America.
12. De Leon explores Florida.
20. Cortez conquers Mexico.
25. De Allyon in Carolina.
28. De Narvaez makes explorations in Florida.
39. De Soto in America.
65. Melendez founds St. Augustine.
97. John Cabot discovers North America.
98. Sebastian Cabot explores the American coast.
78. Martin Frobisher's voyages.
79. Drake on the Pacific coast.
83. Gilbert's voyage.
Raleigh's attempts at colonization.
2. Gosnold's direct voyage.
3. Pring's voyage.
7. Settlement at Jamestown.
8. Waymouth in Maine.
20. The Puritans at Plymouth.
24. Verrazzani explores the American coast.
34. Cartier's expedition.
42. Roberval in Canada.
62. Ribault with the Huguenots.
64. Laudonniere's enterprise.
98. La Roche in Nova Scotia.
4. De Monts and Champlain.
5. Port Royal founded.
8. Founding of Quebec.
9. Hudson in America.
14. Explorations of Block and May.
14. Founding of New Amsterdam.
1. Voyages of the Cortereals.
19. Magellan circumnavigates the globe.

AMERICA UNDER THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART
NO. VI.
VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES IN AMERICA,
From 986 to 1607 A. D.

Prepared by JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.

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ICELANDIC discoveries in *green*.
SPANISH " " *yellow*.
ENGLISH " " *red*.
FRENCH " " *blue*.
DUTCH " " *brown*.
PORTUGUESE " " *purple*.

The king of Spain rewarded Ponce with the governorship of his Land of Flowers, and sent him thither again to establish a colony. The aged veteran did not, however, reach his province until the year 1521, and then it was only to find the Indians in a state of bitter hostility. Scarcely had he landed when they fell upon him in a furious battle; many of the Spaniards were killed outright, and the rest had to betake themselves to the ships for safety. Ponce de Leon himself received a mortal wound from an arrow, and was carried back to Cuba to die.

The year 1517 was marked by the discovery of Yucatan and the Bay of Campeachy by FERNANDEZ DE CORDOVA. While exploring the northern coast of the country, his company was attacked by the natives, and he himself mortally wounded. During the next year the coast of Mexico was explored for a great distance by GRIJALVA, assisted by Cordova's pilot; and in the year 1519, FERNANDO CORTEZ landed with his fleet at Tabasco and began his famous conquest of Mexico.

As soon as the news of the invasion spread abroad, the subjects of the Mexican Empire were thrown into consternation. Armies of native warriors gathered to resist the progress of the Spaniards, but were dispersed by the invaders. After freeing the coast of his opponents, Cortez proceeded westward to Vera Cruz, a seaport one hundred and eighty miles south-east of the Mexican capital. Here he was met by ambassadors from the celebrated MONTEZUMA, Emperor of the country. From him they delivered messages and exhibited great anxiety lest Cortez should march into the interior. He assured them that such was indeed his purpose; that his business in the country was urgent, and that he must confer with Montezuma in person.

The ambassadors tried in vain to dissuade the terrible Spaniard. They made him costly presents, and then hastened back to their alarmed sovereign. Montezuma immediately dispatched them a second time with presents still more valuable, and with urgent appeals to Cortez to proceed no farther. But the cupidity of the Spaniards was now inflamed to the highest pitch, and burning their ships behind them they began their march towards the capital. The Mexican Emperor by his messengers, forbade their approach to his city. Still they pressed on. The nations tributary to Montezuma threw off their allegiance, made peace with the conqueror, and even joined his standard. The irresolute and vacillating Indian monarch knew not what to do. The Spaniards came in sight of the city—a glittering and splendid vision of spires and temples, and the poor Montezuma came forth to receive his remorseless enemies. On the morning of the 8th of November, 1519, the Spanish army

CORTEZ.

marched over the causeway leading into the Mexican capital and was quartered in the great central square near the temple of the Aztec god of war.

It was now winter time. For a month Cortez remained quietly in the city. He was permitted to go about freely with his soldiers, and was even allowed to examine the sacred altars and shrines where human sacrifices were daily offered up to the deities of Mexico. He made himself familiar with the defenses of the capital and the Mexican mode of warfare. On every side he found inexhaustible stores of provisions, treasures of gold and silver, and what greatly excited his solicitude, arsenals filled with bows and javelins. But although

surrounded with splendor and abundance, his own situation became extremely critical. The millions of natives who swarmed around him were becoming familiar with his troops and no longer believed them immortal. There were mutterings of an outbreak which threatened to overwhelm him in an hour. In this emergency the Spanish general adopted the bold and unscrupulous expedient of seizing Montezuma and holding him as a hostage. A plausible pretext for this outrage was found in the fact that the Mexican governor of the province adjacent to Vera Cruz had attacked the Spanish garrison at that place, and that Montezuma himself had acted with hostility and treachery towards the Spaniards while they were marching on the city. As soon as the Emperor was in his power, Cortez compelled him to acknowledge himself a vassal of the king of Spain, and to agree to the payment of a sum amounting to six million three hundred thousand dollars, with an annual tribute afterwards.

MONTEZUMA II.
After an old copperplate.

In the mean time, Velasquez, the Spanish governor of Cuba, jealous of the fame of Cortez, had dispatched a force to Mexico to arrest his progress, and to supersede him in the command. The expedition was led by Pamphilo de Narvaez, the same who was afterwards governor of Florida. His forces consisted of more than twelve hundred well armed and well disciplined soldiers, besides a thousand Indian servants and guides. But the vigilant Cortez had meanwhile been informed by messengers from Vera Cruz of the movement which his enemies at home had set on foot against him, and he determined to sell his command only at the price of his own life and the lives of all his followers. He therefore instructed Alvarado, one of his subordinate officers, to remain in the capital with a small force of a hundred and forty men; and, with the remainder, numbering less than two hundred, he himself hastily withdrew from the city, and proceeded by a forced march to encounter De Narvaez on the sea-coast. On the night of the 26th of May, 1520, while the soldiers of the latter were quietly asleep in their camp near Vera Cruz, Cortez burst upon them with the fury of despair, and before they could rally or well understand the terrible onset, compelled the whole force to surrender. Then, adding the general's skill to the warrior's prowess, he succeeded in inducing the conquered army to join his own standard; and with his forces thus augmented to six times their original numbers, he began a second time his march towards the capital.

While Cortez was absent on this expedition, the Mexicans of the capital rose in arms, and the possession of the country was staked on the issue of war. Alvarado, either fearing a revolt, or from a spirit of atrocious cruelty, had

attacked the Mexicans while they were celebrating one of their festivals, and slain five hundred of the leaders and priests. The people, in a frenzy of astonishment and rage, flew to their arms, and laid siege to the place where Alvarado and his men were fortified. The Spaniards were already hard pressed when Cortez at the head of his new army reached the city. He entered without opposition, and joined Alvarado's command; but the passions of the Mexicans were now thoroughly aroused, and not all the diplomacy of the Spanish general could again bring them into subjection. In a few days the conflict began in earnest. The streets were deluged with the blood of tens of thousands; and not a few of the Spaniards fell before the vengeance of the native warriors. For months there was almost incessant fighting in and around the city; and it became evident that the Spaniards must ultimately be overwhelmed and destroyed.

BATTLE OF CORTEZ WITH THE MEXICANS.

To save himself from his peril, Cortez adopted a second shameless expedient, more wicked than the first. Montezuma was compelled to go upon the top of the palace, in front of the great square where the besiegers were gathered, and to counsel them to make peace with the Spaniards. For a moment there was universal silence, then a murmur of vexation and rage, and then Montezuma was struck down by the javelins of his own subjects. In a few days he died of wretchedness and despair, and for a while the warriors, overwhelmed with remorse, abandoned the conflict. But with the renewal of the strife Cortez was obliged to leave the city. Finally a great battle was fought, and the Spanish arms and valor triumphed. In the crisis of the struggle, the sacred Mexican banner was struck down and captured. Dismay seized the hosts of puny warriors, and they fled in all directions. In December of 1520, Cortez again marched on the capital. A siege, lasting until August of the following year, ensued; and then the famous city yielded. The empire of the Montezumas was overthrown, and Mexico became a Spanish province.

Among the many daring enterprises which marked the beginning of the sixteenth century, that of FERDINAND MAGELLAN is worthy

of special mention. A Portuguese by birth, a navigator by profession, this man, so noted for extraordinary boldness and ability, determined to discover a south-west rather than a north-west passage to Asia. With this object in view, he appealed to the king of Portugal for ships and men. The monarch listened coldly, and did nothing to give encouragement. Incensed at this treatment, Magellan threw off his allegiance, went to Spain—the usual resort of disappointed seamen—and laid his plans before Charles V. The Emperor caught eagerly at the opportunity, and ordered a fleet of five ships to be immediately fitted at the public expense and properly manned with crews.

SLAUGHTER OF MEXICANS BY SPANIARDS AT CHOLULA.

The voyage was begun from Seville in August of 1519. Sailing southward across the equinoctial line, Magellan soon reached the coast of South America, and spent the autumn in explorations, hoping to find some strait that should lead him westward into that ocean which Balboa had discovered six years previously. Not at first successful in this effort, he passed the winter—which was summer on that side of the equator—somewhere on the coast of Brazil. Renewing his voyage southward, he came at last to the eastern mouth of that strait which still bears the name of its discoverer, and passing through it found himself in the open and boundless ocean. The weather was beautiful, and the peaceful deep was called *the Pacific*.[1]

Setting his prows to the north of west, Magellan now held steadily on his course for nearly four months, suffering much meanwhile from want of water and scarcity of provisions. In March of 1520 he came to the group of islands called the Ladrones, situated about midway between Australia and Japan. Sailing still westward, he reached the Philippine group, where he was killed in a battle with the natives. But the fleet was now less than four hundred miles from China, and the rest of the route was easy. A new captain was chosen, and the voyage continued by way of the Moluccas, where a cargo of spices was taken on board for the market of Western Europe. Only a single ship was deemed in a fit condition to venture on the homeward voy-

[1] Hitherto known as the South Sea.

age; but in this vessel the crews embarked, and returning by way of the Cape of Good Hope arrived in Spain on the 17th day of September, 1522. The circumnavigation of the globe, long believed in as a possibility, had now become a thing of reality. The theory of Strabo, of the old astronomers, of Mandeville and of Columbus had been proved by actual demonstration, and the work which the great Mercator was soon to perform in mapping the seas and continents was made an easy task.

While the Spaniards and Portuguese were thus engaged in exploring the West Indies, in traversing the south-eastern parts of the United States and Mexico, in tracing the coast lines of Central and South America, in tracking the vast Pacific, and in establishing the claims of their respective countries to the new lands and waters thus discovered, the English and the French had not been idle spectators of the drama. As soon as it was known in Europe that another hemisphere was rising out of the western seas the sailors of England and France turned their prows in the direction of the new found coasts. Not less hardy and resolute than the mariners of Spain and Italy, they set their sails to favoring winds and tempted the chartless Atlantic in the hope of bringing home from imaginary islands rich cargoes of spices and gold. Before the fifteenth century had closed the almost lusterless crown of Henry VII., but recently victorious over Richard III., at Bosworth, had received a new brightness from the deeds of his courageous seamen.

MAGELLAN.

It was on the 5th of May, 1496, that king Henry, emulous of the fame of Ferdinand and Isabella, and as eager as one of his heavy temperament might be to share in the dazzling profits of discovery, signed and issued a commission to JOHN CABOT, or GIOVANNI CABOTO, a mariner of Venice, to make discoveries and explorations in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, to carry the English flag, and to take possession of all islands and continents which he might discover. Cabot was a brave, adventurous man who had been a sailor from his boyhood, and was now a wealthy merchant of Bristol. The autumn and winter were spent in preparations for the voyage; five substantial ships were fitted, crews were enlisted, and every thing made ready for the opening of the spring. In April the fleet left Bristol; and on the morning of the 24th of June, at a point about the middle of the eastern coast of Labrador, the gloomy shore was seen. This was the real discovery of the American continent. Fourteen months elapsed before Columbus reached the coast of Guiana, and more than two years before Ojeda and Vespucci came in sight of the main-land of South America.

Cabot explored the shore-line of the country which he had discovered, for several hundred miles. He supposed that the land was a part of the dominions of the Cham of Tartary; but finding no inhabitants, he went on shore, according to the terms of his commission, planted the flag of England, and took

possession in the name of the English king. No man forgets his native land; by the side of the flag of his adopted country Cabot set up the banner of the *republic* of Venice—auspicious emblem of another flag which should one day float from sea to sea.

As soon as he had satisfied himself of the extent and character of the country which he had discovered, Cabot sailed for England. On the homeward voyage he twice saw on the right hand the coast of Newfoundland, but did not stop for further discovery. After an absence of but little more than three months he reached Bristol and was greeted with great

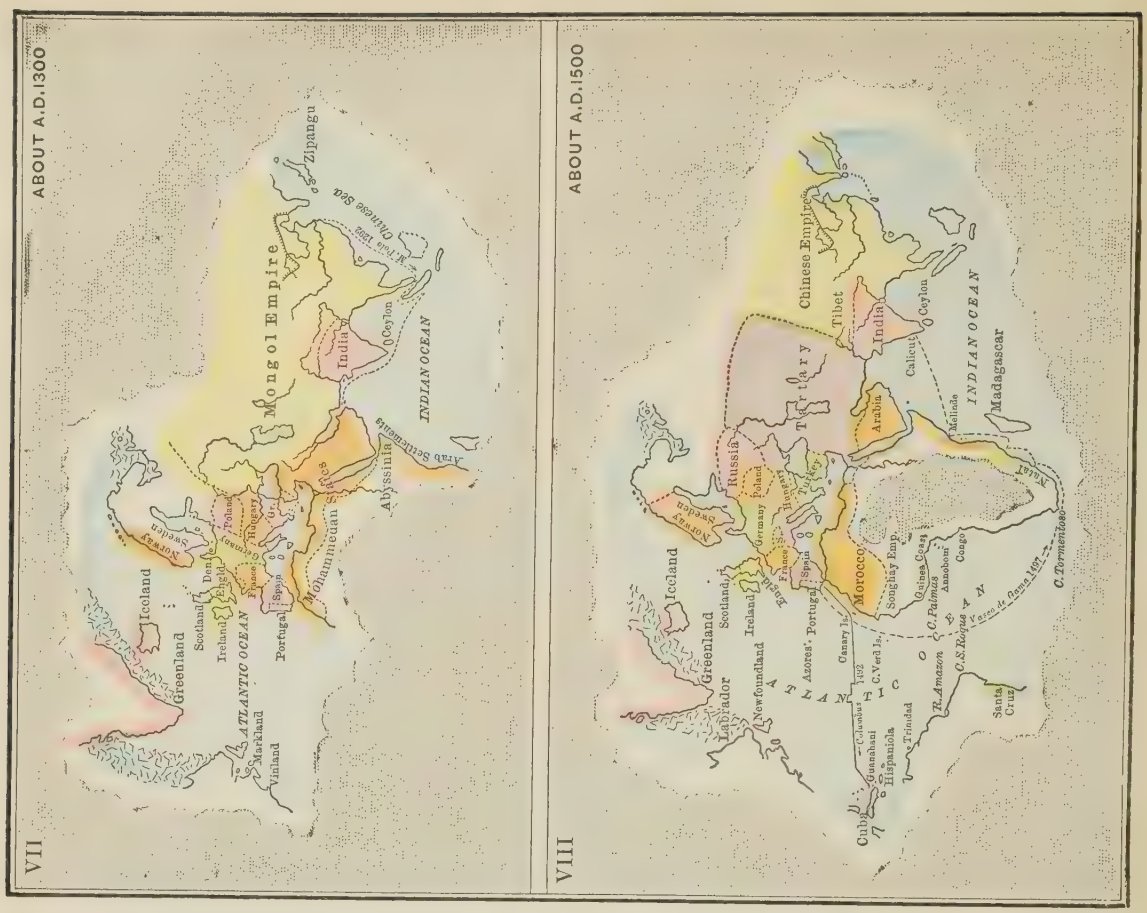
MERCATOR.

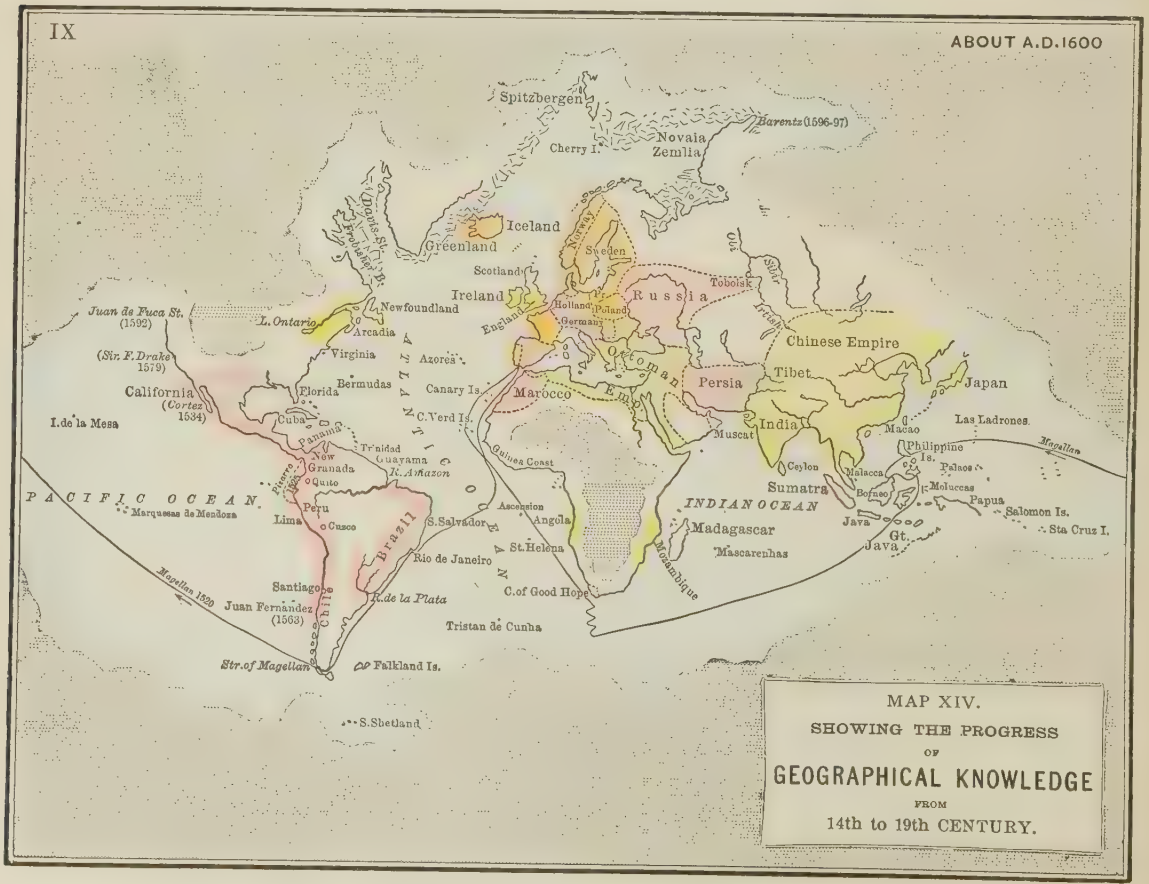
enthusiasm. The town had holiday, the people were wild about the discoveries of their favorite admiral, and the whole kingdom took up the note of rejoicing. The Crown gave him money and encouragement, new crews were enlisted, new ships fitted out, and a new commission more liberal in its provisions than the first was signed in February of 1498. Strange as it may seem, after the date of this second patent the very name of John Cabot disappears from the annals of the times. Where the remainder of his life was passed and the circumstances of his death are involved in complete mystery.

But Sebastian, second son of John Cabot, inherited his father's plans and reputation, and to his father's genius added a greater genius of his own. He had already been to the New World on that first famous voyage, and now, when the opportunity offered to conduct a voyage of his own, he threw himself into the enterprise with all the fervor of youth. It is probable that the very fleet which had been equipped for his father was intrusted to Sebastian. At any rate, the latter found himself, in the spring of 1498, in command of a squadron of well-manned vessels and on his way to the new continent. The particular object had in view was that common folly of the times, the discovery of a north-west passage to the Indies.

The voyage continued prosperously until, in the ocean west of Greenland, the icebergs compelled Sebastian to change his course. It was July, and the sun scarcely set at midnight. Seals were seen, and the ships plowed through such shoals of codfish as had never before been heard of. The shore was reached not far from the scene of the elder Cabot's discoveries, and then the fleet turned southward, but whether across the Gulf of St. Lawrence or to the east of Newfoundland is uncertain. New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Maine were next explored. The whole coast-line of New England and of the Middle States was now for the first time since the days of the Norsemen traced by Europeans. Nor did Cabot desist from this work, which was bestowing the title of discovery on the crown of England, until he had passed beyond the Chesapeake. After all the disputes about the matter, it is most probable that Cape Hatteras is the point from which Sebastian began his homeward voyage.

The future career of Cabot was as strange as the voyages of his boyhood had been wonderful. The scheming, illiberal Henry VII., although quick to appreciate the value of Sebastian's discoveries, was slow to reward the discoverer. The Tudors were all dark-minded and selfish princes. When King Henry died, Ferdinand the Catholic enticed Cabot away from England, and made him pilot-major of Spain. While holding this high office, he had





MAP XIV.

SHOWING THE PROGRESS

OF

GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE

FROM

14th to 19th CENTURY.

ABOUT A.D. 1700

ABOUT A.D. 1800

almost entire control of the maritime affairs of the kingdom, and sent out many successful voyages. He lived to be very old, but the circumstances of his death have not been ascertained, and his place of burial is unknown.

The year 1498 is the most marked in the whole history of discovery. In the month of May, VASCO DE GAMA, of Portugal, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and succeeded in reaching Hindustan. During the summer the younger Cabot traced the eastern coast of North America through more than twenty degrees of latitude, thus establishing forever the claim of England to the most valuable portion of the New World. In August, Columbus himself, now sailing on his third voyage, reached the mouth of the Orinoco. Of the three great discoveries, that of Cabot has proved to be by far the most important.

But several causes impeded the career of English discovery during the greater part of the sixteenth century. The next year after the New World was found, the Pope, Alexander the Sixth, drew an imaginary line north and south, three hundred miles west of the Azores, and issued a papal bull giving all islands and countries *west of that line* to Spain! Henry VII. of England was himself a Catholic, and he did not care to begin a conflict with his Church by pressing his own claims to the newly found regions of the West. His son and successor, Henry VIII., at first adopted the same policy, and it was not until after the Reformation had been accomplished in England that the decision of the Pope came to be disregarded, and finally despised and laughed at.

Less important in results, but hardly less interesting in plan and purpose, were the voyages and discoveries of the French. As early as 1504, the fishermen of Normandy and Brittany began to ply their vocation on the banks of Newfoundland. A map of the Gulf of St. Lawrence was drawn by a Frenchman in the year 1506. Two years later some Indians were taken to France; and in 1518 the attention of Francis I. was turned to the colonization of the New World. Five years afterward a voyage of discovery and exploration was planned, and JOHN VERRAZZANI, a native of Florence, was commissioned to conduct the expedition. The special object had in view was to discover a north-west passage to Asia.

CABOT ON THE SHORE OF LABRADOR.
Drawn by E. Bayard.

In the month of January, 1524, Verrazzani left the shores of Europe. His fleet consisted at first of four vessels; but three of them were damaged in a storm, and the voyage was undertaken with a single ship, called the *Dolphin*. For fifty days, through the buffetings of tempestuous weather, the courageous mariner held on his course, and, on the seventh day of March discovered the main-land

in the latitude of Wilmington. He first sailed southward a hundred and fifty miles in the hope of finding a harbor, but found none. Returning northward, he finally anchored somewhere along the low sandy beach which stretches between the mouth of Cape Fear River and Pamlico Sound. Here he began a traffic with the natives. The Indians of this neighborhood were found to be a gentle and timid sort of creatures, unsuspicious and confiding. A half-drowned sailor, who was washed ashore by the surf, was treated with great kindness, and, as soon as opportunity offered, permitted to return to the ship.

After a few days the voyage was continued toward the north. The whole coast of New Jersey was explored, and the hills marked as containing minerals. The harbor of New York was entered, and its safe and spacious waters were noted with admiration. At Newport, Rhode Island, Verrazzani anchored for fifteen days, and a trade was again opened with the Indians. Before leaving the place the French sailors repaid the confidence of the natives by kidnaping a child and attempting to steal a defenseless Indian girl.

Sailing from Newport, Verrazzani continued his explorations northward. The long and broken line of the New England coast was traced with considerable care. The Indians of the north were wary and suspicious. They would buy neither ornaments nor toys, but were eager to purchase knives and weapons of iron. Passing to the east of Nova Scotia, the bold navigator reached Newfoundland in the latter part of May. In July he returned to France and published an account, still extant, of his great discoveries. The name of NEW FRANCE was now given to the whole country whose sea-coast had been traced by the adventurous crew of the *Dolphin*.

Such was the distracted condition of France at this time that another expedition was not planned for a period of ten years. In 1534, however, Chabot, admiral of the kingdom, selected JAMES CARTIER, a seaman of St. Malo, in Brittany, to make a new voyage to America. Two ships were fitted out for the enterprise, and after no more than twenty days of sailing[1] under cloudless skies, anchored on the tenth day of May off the coast of Newfoundland.

Before the middle of July, Cartier had circumnavigated the island to the northward, crossed the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the south of Anticosta and entered the Bay of Chaleurs. Not finding, as he had hoped, a passage out of this bay westward, he changed his course to the north again and ascended the coast as far as Gaspé Bay. Here, upon a point of land, he set up a cross bearing a shield with the lily of France, and proclaimed the French king monarch of the country. Pressing his way still farther northward, and then westward, he entered the St. Lawrence, and ascended the broad estuary until the narrowing banks made him aware that he was in the mouth of a river. Cartier thinking it impracticable to pass the winter in the New World, now turned his prows toward France, and in thirty days anchored his ships in the harbor of St. Malo.

Besides the great work done by De Gama and Magellan in extending the limits of geographical knowledge, one other enterprise of some importance was undertaken under the Portuguese flag. At the time of the first discovery by Columbus, the king of Portugal was the unambitious John II. After the manner of most of the other monarchs of his time, he paid but little attention to the New World, preferring the security and dullness of his own capital to the splendid allurements of the Atlantic. In 1495 he was succeeded on the throne by his cousin Manuel, a man of very different character. This monarch could hardly forgive his predecessor for having allowed Spain to snatch from the flag of Portugal the glory of Columbus's achievements. In order to secure some of the benefits which yet remained, King Manuel fitted out two vessels, and in the summer of 1501 commissioned GASPAR CORTEREAL to sail on a voyage of discovery.

The Portuguese vessels reached America in July, and beginning at some point on the shores of Maine, sailed northward, exploring the coast for nearly seven hundred miles. Just below the fiftieth parallel of latitude Cortereal met the icebergs, and could go no

[1] All of the authoritities state the time of Cartier's voyage at twenty days. Such a statement does not accord with reason. That a clumsy caravel of the sixteenth century should sail from St. Malo to Newfoundland in twenty days seems incredible, and the Author repeats the statement against his judgment.

farther. Little attention was paid by him to the great forests of pine and hemlock which stood tall and silent along the shore, promising ship-yards and cities in after times. He satisfied his rapacity by kidnaping fifty Indians, whom, on his return to Portugal, he sold as slaves. A new voyage was then undertaken, with the avowed purpose of capturing another cargo of natives for the slave-mart of Europe; but when a year went by and no tidings arrived from the fleet, the brother of the Portuguese captain sailed in hope of finding the missing vessels. He also was lost, but in what manner has never been ascertained. The fate of the Cortereals and their slave-ships has remained one of the unsolved mysteries of the sea.

CHAPTER C.—THE REFORMATION PROPER.

WHILE the veil which for immemorial ages had shrouded the Western continent was thus lifted and the outline of a New World of unknown extent revealed to Europe, another continent was made known to the mind of man in the seas of progress and humanity. The curtain which for centuries had been drawn around the human conscience and understanding was rent in a convulsion which shook the civilized world, and a few gleams of light shot into the hitherto benighted regions of thought. It is incumbent upon the historian, even though he consider events from a purely secular point of view, to give a fair and unbiased account of that great religious insurrection which, beginning in Germany, spread into most of the countries of Europe, agitated the society of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to its profoundest depths, convulsed the nations with warfare, and as one of its leading incidents, contributed to the colonization of America. By the common consent of writers, this revolt of the long-subject masses of the European states against the authority of the Church of Rome is known as the REFORMATION.

It has been a common mistake in the consideration of this great event to suppose that it originated in the sixteenth century. On the contrary, the antecedents of the struggle are to be discovered far back in the Middle Ages. No sooner had the solidarity of the Roman Church been effected; no sooner had she begun to advance her claims to an absolute dominion over the human mind; no sooner had she undertaken to enforce her pretensions by the sword of authority and the ban of terror,—than the mind of man asserted its personality and right and freedom by resenting and denying the claims and encroachments of that ecclesiastical power which would fain subdue and destroy it.

Indeed there never was a time in the long and dolorous night of the Dark Ages when the cry of the human spirit against religious thralldom might not be heard—when a certain schismatic tendency was not felt in the very heart and core of the papal power. There was always a kind of palpitation indicative of remaining life under the hard crust of tyranny and abuse—a kind of vital upheaval here and there, threatening to burst forth and split the Romish See into fragments. Especially after the age of Hildebrand, who reached the papal seat in 1073, did the protest of reason and will more than ever assert itself. Insurrectionists and rebels were busy. Reforms were openly preached. Protestantism in some form was proclaimed and practiced. St. Ambrose cried out boldly for the freedom of reason and conscience. St. Hilary and St. Martin openly denied the right of the Church to enforce belief by compulsion. Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, declared his purpose to make the Church of France independent of papal authority; and when the Pope threatened the vengeance of excommunication, the archbishop indifferently replied that if the Holy Father should come into France to excommunicate, *he would go away excommunicated.* In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries heresies were rife in many parts, and the whole compressive power of the papacy could hardly pre-

vail to hold in one the hostile organic elements. The reader need only re-peruse the tragic story of the Hussite insurrection in Bohemia to be satisfied of the depth and the persistency of the movement for religious freedom a hundred years before the age of Luther. The appearance of the Wickliffites in England, and at a still earlier date of the Albigenses in Southern France, equally attests the wide-spread discontent of the masses with the government of Rome.

He who studies the Reformation attentively will not fail to perceive that the success of the movement in Germany under the leadership of Luther followed two other efforts *not* successful to reach the same result. The first of these—first in time and first in natural sequence—was the effort of the Church to work a reform inside of her own organization. Vain chimera! Fond and childish credulity to suppose that the thing to be reformed could mend itself, that the abusers would abolish the abuse! The history of the world has not yet presented an example of an organization, grown sleek and fat and conscienceless by the destruction of human freedom and the spoliation of mankind, that has had the virtue and honesty to make restitution and return to an exemplary life; nor will such a phenomenon ever be seen under the sun. Whether the organization be religious, political, or social, that law is equally irreversible, by which Ephraim is joined to his idols. He and they are bound by an indissoluble tie and will perish together.

But the Church of the Middle Ages made many *efforts* to reform her abuses. She was at times greatly scandalized at the condition of affairs within her pale. The Crusades made the people acquainted with the actual state of the ecclesiastical power. Rome had hitherto enjoyed a great reputation. Europe, not yet recovered from barbarism, looked to her afar as to something holy. Great was the chagrin, the astonishment of the Crusaders to find her even as the rest—greedy, ambitious, selfish, and defiled. With the subsidence of the Holy Wars, new ideas poured into the West. Europe had gone to Palestine to kill a Turk, and had come back with a notion. Nothing is so dangerous to a stupid conservatism as an idea. It dashes down and breaks in pieces. It becomes courageous and persists in saying that light is light, and darkness darkness.

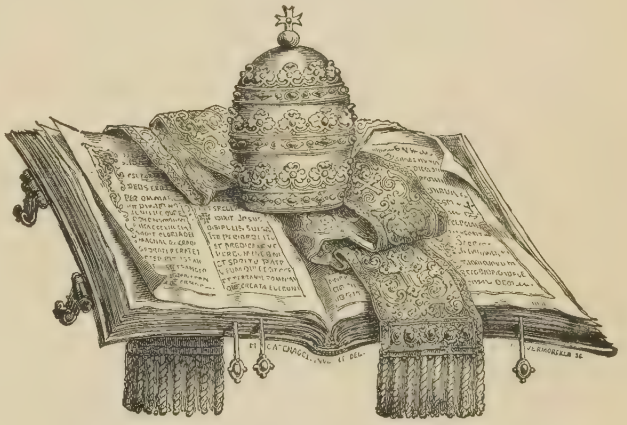
At the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century occurred the great Schism of the West. The papacy was rent in twain. One pontificate was established at Avignon, while the other remained at Rome. The two Popes shook the Alps with anathemas launched at each other. After twenty-one years of this business the council of Pisa was called in 1409. That body succeeded in getting another Pope into the field, so that there were *three* pontiffs instead of two. Such was the extent of the "reform" affected by the first council called for that purpose.

Then after five years came the Council of Constance. The course of the proceedings and of the events that followed can not be better given than in the language of Guizot. The assembly was "convoked by desire of the Emperor Sigismund. This council set about a matter of far more importance than the nomination of a new Pope; it undertook the reformation of the Church. It began by proclaiming the indissolubility of the universal council, and its superiority over the papal power. It endeavored to establish these principles in the Church, and to reform the abuses which had crept into it, particularly the exactions by which the court of Rome obtained money. To accomplish this object the council appointed what we should call a commission of inquiry; in other words, a *Reform College*, composed of deputies to the council, chosen in the different Christian nations. This college was directed to inquire into the abuses which polluted the Church, and into the means of remedying them, and to make a report to the council, in order that it might deliberate on the proceedings to be adopted. But while the council was thus engaged, the question was started, whether it could proceed to the reform of abuses without the visible concurrence of the head of the Church, without the sanction of the Pope. It was carried in the negative through the influence of the Roman party, supported by some well-meaning but timid individuals. The council elected a new Pope, Martin V., in 1417. The Pope was instructed to present, on his part, a plan for the reform of the Church. This plan was rejected, and the council separated. In 1431, a new coun-

cil assembled at Bâle with the same design. It resumed and continued the reforming labors of the Council of Constance, but with no better success. Schism broke out in this assembly as it had done in Christendom. The Pope removed the council to Ferrara, and afterwards to Florence. A portion of the prelates refused to obey the Pope and remained at Bâle; and, as there had been formerly two popes, so now there were two councils. That of Bâle continued its projects of reform; named as its Pope Felix V.; some time afterward removed to Lausanne; and dissolved itself in 1449 without having effected any thing."

Thus abortive were all the efforts of the Church to institute reform within her own organization. It was worth the life of him who did it to propose and champion a measure of *real* reform in one of the councils. On one point the prelates were always agreed, and that was the propriety of burning heretics. To this complexion the matter always came, that some one must be found who had challenged or denied the *doctrines* of the Church. Upon him the councilors could scowl with entire accord, and the most corrupt of the whole assembly became the greatest saint, the most zealous defender of the purity of the Church, by fixing upon the offender the most horrid scowl. It is as melancholy as it is instructive to see the Council of Constance, after years and years of wrangling and vain debates, adjourning without the decision of a single question except that Huss and Jerome, of Prague, should be burned as heretics! The attempt at reform within the Church proved a signal failure.

While these futile efforts were making to better the moral condition of christendom by using the machinery already in existence, another endeavor was made with the same end in view by the scholars and philosophers. At the head of this movement stood the great Erasmus. To him must be assigned the credit of being the first exemplar of the doctrine that reason is the one true guide of life—the one unfailing arbiter in all questions, religious, political, and social. He believed and taught that the moral reform of Europe would follow its intellectual renovation; that, as ignorance is the real ground of all depravity, so enlightenment is the true origin of moral purity, the beginning of the true spiritual consciousness in man. It was his hope, therefore, to cleanse the Augean stable by turning through it the river of learning. To this work almost his whole life was devoted. With him were associated many of the principal scholars of his times. He traveled and lectured in the chief seats of learning in Europe, being at one time professor of Greek in Cambridge, but for a longer period resident at Basel, where the greater part of his prodigious literary activity was expended. Here he systematically sought to draw up the crude mass of European society to a higher level of culture. In this work he was earnestly engaged when the premonitory

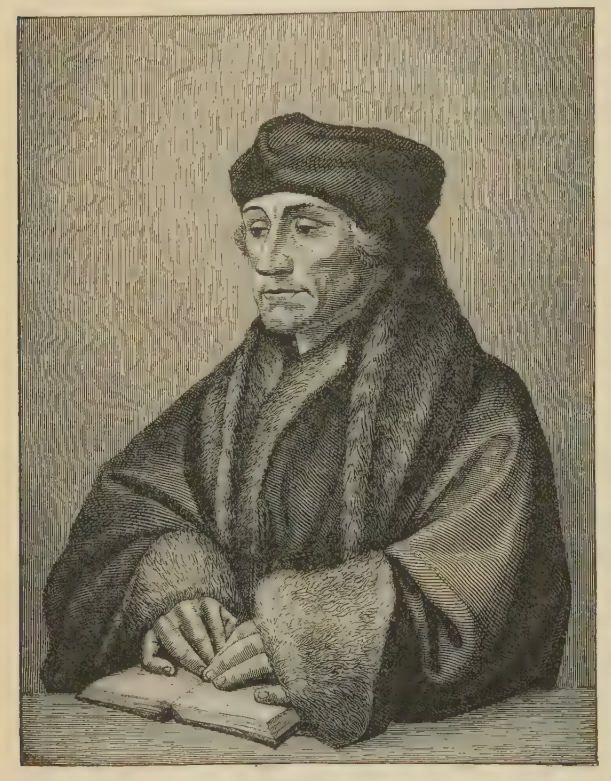


PAPAL COAT OF ARMS.

shocks of the real Reformation began to be felt in Germany.

It does not appear that the sympathies of Erasmus were with the Hussites and other revolutionists that had preceded him. Certain it is that he was never in accord with Luther and his work; and it is equally certain that his own effort to bring about the intellectual and moral purification of his times by means of culture proved a failure. He had in him none of the qualities of the warrior, and war was the necessity of the age. He was, therefore, doomed to disappointment, not for his own, but for the sins of his century. The epoch was coarse, brutal, bigoted, partisan, bloody-minded. Erasmus was none of these. Nisard has said of him, that he was one of those whose glory it is to know much and

affirm little. He not only failed of success, but was loaded with contumely. His impartiality and dispassion in an age of spiteful polemics gained for him the reputation of a trimmer devoid of serious convictions. The Catholics accused him of being in collusion with the heretical destroyers of the Church. The Lutheran party upbraided him as a time-server, who remained a Catholic in order to enjoy emoluments. Those theological authors who are unable to write any thing except the pro and con of their dogma have condemned



ERASMUS.

him as a coward. A fair estimate of him and his work may be given in the words of Drummond: "Erasmus was, in his own age, the apostle of common sense and of rational religion. He did not care for dogma, and accordingly the dogmas of Rome, which had the consent of the Christian world, were in his eyes preferable to the dogmas of Protestantism. From the beginning to the end of his career he remained true to the purpose of his life, which was to fight the battle of sound learning and plain common sense against the powers of ignorance and superstition; and amid all the convulsions of that period he never once lost his mental balance."

But he failed to work a reform. Then came a ground-swell. The *People* burst up through the bottom of the social structure, and the spiked flail of Rome was not sufficient to beat them into the earth again. Germany was the scene of the revolt; Luther, the leader of the revolution. It is now the purpose to give an account of the outbreak, and of the earlier stages of the insurrection.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the chair of St. Peter was occupied by Alexander VI., who, after a pontificate of eleven years, was succeeded by Pius III. in 1503, and he by Julius II. in 1505. Eight years afterwards, the papal crown descended to Giovanni de Medici, who took the title of Leo X. Intellectually, if not morally, he was one of the greatest of the Popes, worthy to be ranked with Gregory the Great. At the age of eight he had been appointed abbot of Font-Douce, and at thirteen created a cardinal by Innocent VIII. Before his majority he was already one of the most distinguished men of the Church, ambitious, warlike, and unscrupulous. On the death of Pope Julius in 1513, he was elected to the papal chair, and began his reign on a scale of magnificence hitherto unknown even in the splendor-loving papacy. He interfered freely in the political affairs of the European states. When, in 1515, Francis I. came to the throne of France, Leo contrived a meeting with him in Bologna, and agreed to a *concordat*, which was afterwards promulgated at the Lateran council. By this act the right of the Pope to collect annats and tithes from christendom, as well as the right to make nominations to all the episcopal sees and benefices, was conceded.

Still another arrangement was made by which the duchy of Urbino was conferred on the Pope's nephew, with a reversion to the Church. Siena was also added to the papal dominions; and the Cardinal Petrucci, whose family had been rulers of the province, and who now headed a conspiracy against Leo, was strangled in prison. This policy of aggran-

dizement on the part of the Pope, and the measures which the reigning pontiff adopted to carry his plans into execution, became the *occasion*, if not the *cause*, of the religious insurrection which was now about to break out in Germany.

The sitting of the Lateran council consumed the greater part of the year 1517. Among the other proceedings, a bull was issued urging the princes of christendom to unite in a league against the Turks, and offering *indulgences* to all who would enlist in the war or contribute to its expenses. The measure was similar to that adopted by Urban II. in 1095. It will be remembered that that pontiff had granted plenary indulgences to those who should take the Cross against the defilers of the holy places. The Council of Lyons, held in 1274, had attempted, in like manner, to excite the Christian states to rise against the Infidels by offering to remit in advance the penalties of sin.

From this time forth it became a favorite measure with the Church to replenish her coffers by the sale of indulgences. The custom grew into a habit, and the habit into a vast source of corruption. The two principal abuses which arose out of the business were, first, the diversion of the means raised for some holy cause to another object of personal or venal ambition; and, second, the farming out of the sale of the indulgences to conscienceless agents, whose salaries were made up of percentages, and who scrupled not to play upon the credulity of the people to increase the profit of the business. A class of indulgence-vendors sprang up in different parts of Europe as mercenary and corrupt as the old Roman agents who farmed out the corn-fields of Sicily. In the first years of the sixteenth century, the sale of indulgences became so enormous as to constitute the chief religious industry of the age. The Church discovered that her great enterprises could be carried forward more successfully by this mercenary traffic than by any legitimate appeal to the conscience of an epoch that had none. During the pontificate of Julius II., the completion and decoration of the new basilica of St. Peter's at Rome, the immortal masterpiece of Michael Angelo, had been undertaken, and the sale of indulgences was relied upon to produce the necessary means for that great work. This enterprise was transmitted to Leo X., who, when by lavish expenditure the coffers of the Holy See were exhausted, sought eagerly to replenish his treasury by extending the indulgences to new kinds of sin, and by carrying the sale into foreign lands.

Of all the European states, Germany was the most promising field for this nefarious speculation. Her people were noted for their piety. They were easily touched with a sense of their own sinfulness. They were ignorant and credulous enough to believe whatever the

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONAROTTI.

monks told them with respect to the means to be employed to gain eternal life. The German peasant sincerely accepted the bit of parchment which the priest gave him as a veritable guaranty against the consequences of sin, whether committed by himself or the members of his family. The adroit ecclesiastics gradually enlarged the doctrine of indulgences to all of the tenses and moods of human wickedness. The mercenary penitent might purchase immunity for what he had done, what he was doing, and what he was about to do. And the souls of the departed, now undergoing the purification of purgatorial fires, might be liberated from that border-land of hell by the

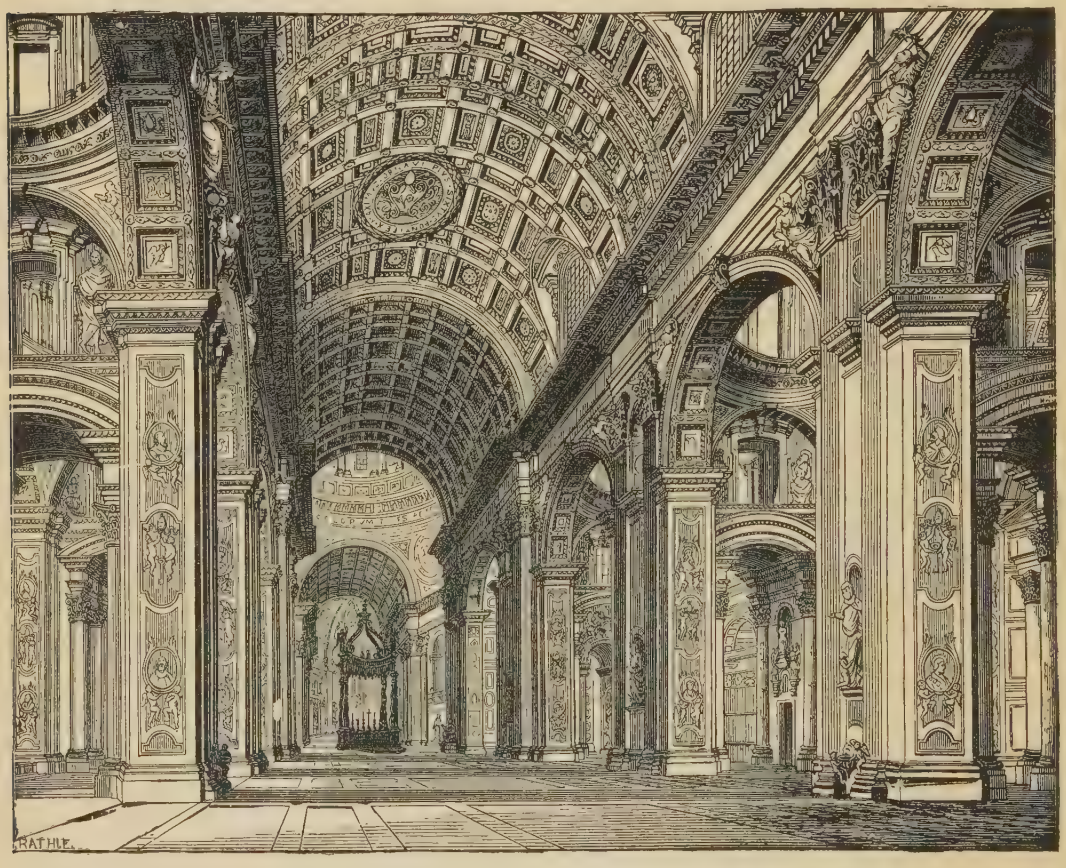
payment of the stipulated fee. The Church for a pious deposit made in her coffer would open the prison-doors of the nether world and let fly the imprisoned spirits of those who had died under the penalty of sin. Thus, when, in order to raise the money for the completion and decoration of St. Peter's, agents were sent into credulous Germany to dispense the privilege of sinning, or at least to remove for money what penalties soever the Church had affixed to transgression and wickedness, and when the unscrupulous Johann Tetzel, a Dominican monk of Leipsic, was given charge of the lucrative business, he openly proclaimed that any who had friends still suffering in the outlying provinces of the Inferno might procure their liberation by the purchase of his indulgences. His proposition was put into the German couplet:

"So wie das Geld im Kasten klingt
Die Seele aus dem Fegfeuer springt."

"As in the box the money rings
The soul from Purgatory springs."

Such was the condition of affairs in Germany, and in general throughout Europe, at the close of that epoch in which the great Church councils had wrangled themselves into silence, and Erasmus, with his humanitarian schemes, had failed to impress the age.

At this juncture a new personal force appeared in Teutonic Europe in the man MARTIN LUTHER. In him was summarized a large part of the history of his times. Doubtless had he not appeared some other would have arisen to do the destined work of the century. That work was to break the solidarity of the Romish Church, to give at least the *name* of freedom to religious inquiry, and to contribute not a little—albeit unintentionally—to the great cause of human progress—the only cause of which History is called to take much cognizance. It is appropriate to sketch in a few brief paragraphs the life of Luther previous to that time when he began to exercise a marked influence on the destinies of the age.



INTERIOR OF ST. PETER'S OF ROME.

The family of Luther came from Möhra, near Altenstein, in Thuringia. His father, in the old home, had been a slate-cutter, but emigrated to the rich mining district of Eisleben, and became a miner. Here Martin Luther was born on the 10th of November, 1483. "I am a peasant's son," says he, in his *Table-Talk;* "my father, grandfather, and ancestors were all peasants." The home was humble; the parents, severe. Hans Luther, the father, was energetic, hard-working, sturdy, a strict adherent to the ancient faith. In this faith Luther was bred, in much hardship and unhappiness. The father and mother both held to the base theory and practice of punishment for children. Every trifle was treated as a crime. The eccentricities of childhood were checked with merciless rigor, and its natural joyousness suppressed. Whipping was the rule in the Luther household. On one occasion Martin's mother beat him *about a nut* until his back was bloody. At school in Mansfeld he was not treated with greater lenity. Here, between the years 1494 and 1497, he remained in the hands of teachers who, according to his own testimony, behaved towards the pupils as if they were thieves. Luther relates that on a certain occasion he was himself beaten fifteen times in a single afternoon.

In 1497 the youth who was destined to raise so great a tempest in the world was transferred to Magdeburg and put into a Franciscan school. The institution was a sort of religio-gymnasium, where the tyro was to be fed on a mixture of faith and the humanities. Here he had the first actual view of the Church as it was. Magdeburg was the seat of a bishopric, and was regarded as the church center of North Germany. Here, on a certain occasion, Luther saw the monk, Wilhelm von Anhalt, whom his father, a German prince, had driven into a monastery, and who now, clad in a cowl and barefooted, went about the streets carrying a beggar's wallet and begging for bread. The miserable wretch had fasted and watched and prayed and been scourged until he was a living skeleton, gaunt and fiery-eyed; a specter of the age. To the young Luther, however, this bony apparition appeared the embodiment of piety and devotion. His education had been such as to lead him to accept the monk as the highest possible exponent of religion, and to believe in religion as the principal business of life. He accordingly resolved to become a monk himself and to make a pilgrimage to Rome in order that his sins might be expiated and the peace of his soul secured.

MARTIN LUTHER.

But this resolution of Luther was in the highest measure repugnant to the wishes of his father. By him the young man had been destined to the profession of law. A break thus came about between father and son, which was all the more serious on account of a deep-seated antipathy which Hans Luther cherished

towards the monastic orders. It was in this matter that Martin did his first serious act of disobedience.

From Magdeburg young Luther presently went to Eisenach, where, as a student, he supported himself after the manner of the times by singing and asking alms from door to door. Here he was kindly received in the home of Conrad Cotta, by whom and his wife he was cared for during most of his stay at Eisenach. After some time spent in the study of languages and history his preparation was regarded as sufficient; and in 1501, being then at the age of eighteen, he went to the university of Erfurt. Here the horizon of his studies widened, but his scholastic pursuits seemed to have brought little satisfaction to him before whose vision the spectral barefooted monk of Magdeburg still walked about and begged his daily bread.

It appears that as the student Martin passed from boyhood into the manly age he was seized with melancholy — that peculiar feeling of gloom and foreboding to which the minds of young men are frequently subject without apparent cause. In the mean time he had yielded to his father's wish that the law should be his chosen work. But his compliance in this respect was without any touch of heartiness. He simply yielded, and was borne on by the current of events. Ever and anon, however, his own feelings and wishes carried him back to the monastic life as the ideal of his dreams.

Finally, if a tradition to that effect may be trusted, the untimely death of a friend who was struck with lightning by his side, is said to have so impressed Martin with a sense of the folly of life and the terrors of death as to bring him back suddenly to his old resolution of becoming a monk. He accordingly told his father that his conscience would not permit him any longer to follow a worldly pursuit, and leaving the gray-headed old man in despair, he joined the Augustinian friars. From his entrance into the convent, in 1505, he gave himself up with intense devotion to all the hardship and rigor which mediæval superstition had prescribed as the means of salvation. He scourged himself, and mortified the flesh, and fasted, and spent whole nights in prayer, in the vain hope that his sturdy German nature might find in the gloom of monasticism the peace which it so much craved.

In the monastery Luther sedulously pursued his studies. He became conspicuous among the brothers for his zeal. He was noted by his superiors for his serious air, his determined look, and the austerity of his manners. In the fourth year of his stay in the monastery at Erfurt it was remarked of him by the learned Rollich, of Wittenberg: "That monk with the deep-set eyes and the strange fancies will yet lead all the doctors astray, set up a new doctrine, and reform the whole Romish Church." Of similar sort was the remark of Cardinal Cajetan: "I could hardly look the man in the face, such a diabolical fire darted out of his eyes."

After a three years' stay in the convent, Luther, in 1507, took holy orders, and in the following year was, at the instance of Staupnitz, nominated to the professorship of scholastic philosophy in the University of Wittenberg. Entering upon the duties of his new profession, he rose at once to distinction. In 1512 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Two years before this he had fulfilled his old vow of making a pilgrimage to Rome. Nor does it appear that any ever approached the seat of St. Peter with a more humble and contrite spirit. It is related that he ascended on his knees the Holy Stair opposite the Church of St. John Lateran, praying devoutly from step to step. Here it is said his mind was suddenly impressed with the famous aphorism which became the motto of his life, namely, "The just shall live by faith." Doubtless, however, his studies, tending constantly to the enlightenment of his mind, his observation ever widening of the corrupt practices of the Church, and his growing indignation at what he saw and heard, were the true antecedents of the rebellion in his nature, rather than sudden and miraculous impressions.[1]

[1] It is related that when Luther knelt to receive the sacrament in Rome, he was horrified to hear the ministrants perpetrating jokes about the sacred elements. *Panis es tu*, said the bishop when consecrating the wafer; "bread thou art;" but then instead of adding, "but bread thou shalt be no longer," he finished thus: "*and bread thou shalt be forever!*" Thereupon the sincere Luther stopped his ears, sprang up and ran from the altar, shivering at the horrid profanation.

Returning to Wittenberg, Luther resumed the duties of his professorship. The university of which he now became the ornament, had been recently established by Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony. The institution grew in a short time to be the seat and center of those liberalizing tendencies which men of thought and research, even when but half emancipated, have ever been wont to sow in their footsteps. It was in some sense the story of Huss in the University of Prague repeated. In this case, however, the authorities of Frederick's great school rallied around their favorite doctor and applauded his teachings.

These teachings were at first no more than a sort of purified Catholicism. Luther had no conscious intent of a rupture with the Church. He merely aimed within his sphere to combat and counteract the abuses which every one recognized as abounding within the sacred pale. To this end he began to oppose his own and the influence of the university to the doctrine of indulgences. No doubt the promulgation of a remission of penalties by Julius and Leo to all who would contribute means for the building of St. Peter's was but the *occasion* of the outbreak which was now impending, and not the *cause* of the revolt of Germanic christendom against papal authority. As already said, the person to whom the sale of this particular invoice of indulgences was intrusted was Johann Tetzel, a Dominican monk, whose reputation had more body than his character. Coming into Saxony, he proceeded to carry the matter of indulgence far beyond the received doctrine of the Church—though that doctrine was without any very strict definition. By the gross abuses which he thus patronized and openly flaunted in the face of the Germans, he furnished the irate and conscientious Luther with a bludgeon wherewith to beat the whole business into the ground.

Perhaps the world will never know—perhaps it does not greatly care to know—to what extent the indignant antagonism of Luther to Tetzel and the sale of his wares was based upon the fact that the sale had been given to the Dominican instead of the Augustinian monks. Luther was a Black Friar, that is, an Augustinian; Tetzel, a Gray, that is, a Dominican. Doubtless the Augustinians had more "conscience" in the matter than they would have had if the profits of the indulgence-auction had gone to them instead of to the rival order. Doubtless the Dominicans acquired new zeal for Holy Church, because the good Mother had been partial to her children of the gray. But the times were ripe for the great insurrection, and the monkish quarrel about the sale of the indulgences was only the spark that lighted a magazine already charged to the point of explosion.

At all events, Doctor Martin Luther denied the efficacy of the indulgences,[1] and undertook to prevent their sale. Tetzel continued his business. Then came the conflict, at first a war of words. Luther urged the bishops in the vicinity of Wittenberg to forbid the sale of indulgences to their people. He preached against the system at the university, and denounced it everywhere in unmeasured terms. He planted himself inside of the pale of the Church, and proved that the doctrine of indulgence was against the usage and belief of the fathers. Nor was it long until he had produced such an agitation that Wittenberg was like the place where seven winds are blown together. Finally, on the 31st of October, 1517, Luther posted up, on the doors of the Schloss-Kirche at Wittenberg, ninety-five theses which he had prepared, and which he proposed to defend by argument, by an appeal to Church authority, and by the Holy Scriptures. In these celebrated propositions he unfolded his views of repentance, and of the general scheme of the remission

[1] Specimens of the indulgences are still preserved. One, bearing date of 1517, has on one side the figure of a Dominican monk, also a cross, a crown of thorns, and a burning heart. In the upper corners are the nailed hands of Christ, and in the lower corners his feet. The legend on the front side reads thus: "Pope Leo X. Pray. This is the length and breadth of the wounds in the holy side of Christ. As often as any one kisses it he has a seven years' indulgence." On the reverse side is this inscription: "This cross measured forty times makes the height of Christ in his humanity. He who kisses it is preserved for seven days from sudden death, falling sickness, and apoplexy." At this time one might see posted up such notices as these: "The red indulgence cross, with the Pope's arms suspended on it, has the same virtue as the Cross of Christ." "The pardon makes those who accept it cleaner than baptism, purer even than Adam in Paradise." "The dealer in pardons saves more people than St. Peter," etc.

of sin. The theses embraced, indeed, what may be called the fundamental doctrines of Protestantism. They produced a profound impression throughout Germany. For the printing-press had now become a vehicle of public information, and the propositions of Doctor Luther were carried from town to town, from church to church.

The immediate result was to awaken controversy. A host of writers and preachers appeared to oppose or champion the new doctrines. Foremost among those who took up the cause of the Church against the bold monk of Wittenberg were Wimpina of Frankfort, Hogstraten of Cologne, and Johann Eck of Ingolstadt. This trio, and many others less distinguished, raised the cry of heresy, and, but for the stalwart defenders who rose about him whose brain, voice, and pen had created the uproar, he would doubtless have been overwhelmed. Meanwhile, an accusation was preferred against him at Rome. The Pope took cognizance of the matter, and, in May of 1518, Luther sent to the Eternal City a document containing his justification and defense against the charges of his enemies. It appears that the document produced a not unfavorable impression on the politic mind of Leo X., and, pleased with the spirit, abilities, and scholarship of the learned monk, he sent for him to come to Rome. But, before this invitation could be answered, a shiver of alarm passed through the papal court, and the Cardinal Legate Cajetan was commissioned to settle the question, which had broken out between Tetzel and Luther, with as little disturbance as possible. At first the cardinal was to endeavor to quiet the dispute by a personal interview with Luther, and such gentle persuasion and remonstrances as might seem most likely to prevail with his turbulent and excited spirit.

PREACHING THE REFORMATION.

A diet had in the mean time been convened at Augsburg. Cajetan soon showed himself incapable of following the mild and prudent policy suggested by Pope Leo. On the contrary, he proceeded on a line of harshness and compulsion. A debate followed between the two champions, in which the Legate proceeded from the ground of authority, with citations from the decrees of the Church and the tenets of the Dominicans; and Luther, from the ground of reason, with citations from Paul and Augustine. The disputation ended

to the satisfaction of both parties, the result being nothing.

This meeting at Augsburg occurred about six months after the publication of Luther's theses. To that place the Reformer had gone in some trepidation; for it was already apparent that his personal safety was in jeopardy on account of his conduct. He accordingly left Augsburg hastily by night, and, riding at speed through unfrequented ways, returned to Wittenberg.

Perceiving the failure of his first pass with the German monk, and the folly of Cajetan in permitting a debate to degenerate into a quarrel, Leo next appointed Carl von Miltitz, a shrewd Saxon, to undertake the settlement of the religious feud in Germany. Miltitz was made the nuncio of His Holiness, and was commissioned to bear to Frederick the Wise the consecrated golden rose, with which as a present the Pope was wont to honor some favorite prince on New Year's Day. The real object of the business was that Miltitz might obtain an interview with Luther, and if possible wean him away from his rebellious purposes.

Arriving at Wittenberg in January of 1519, the nuncio proceeded with great caution. He disavowed the course of Tetzel and his pardon venders. He told Luther that he was his friend, and that he held the same doctrines as the Reformer himself. Having thus ingratiated himself, he told Luther that it was unbecoming in him to continue his contest with the Pope, and that the questions at issue ought to be settled before a competent tribunal. To this end an agreement was made between the two that for the present both parties should cease to preach or write on the controverted questions, that Miltitz should communicate a knowledge of the exact condition of affairs to the Pope, and that the latter should appoint a learned commission to hear and decide the matters concerning which the parties were at variance.

Luther in informing the Elector Frederick of the conditions which had been agreed to by the nuncio and himself, showed the spirit in which he was at the beginning of 1519, by adding: "And then if I am convinced of error, I shall willingly retract it and not weaken the power and glory of the holy Roman Church." This was the period at which there seemed to be the greatest probability that the break in the Church could be healed. Luther was pressed to the verge of retracting—but always on conditions. He would keep silent—if others would. He would retract—when refuted. It should be borne in mind, however, that this attitude was just as abhorrent to the mediæval Church as downright heretical defiance.

During the greater part of the year 1518 there was an armistice. But in the spring of the following year, the quarrel broke out anew. The offender was Doctor Johann Eck who, by proclaiming a great discussion at Leipsic, and inviting Carlstadt, a Lutheran, to appear as an opponent, succeeded in kindling the fires as fiercely as ever. For some of the theses which Eck proposed covered the very ground of dispute which was to be no more disturbed. Thus the whole matter arose again like a ghost that would not down.

At Leipsic, on the 27th of June, the debate began. The first week was consumed by Eck and Carlstadt on the subject of free will. Then the contest began with Luther himself on faith and good works as means of justification. Luther planted himself on the Augustinian and Eck on the Pelagian doctrine, but no conclusion was or could be reached. Eck then adroitly brought in the question of the papal authority. Luther affirmed that the same was not more than four centuries old, and his adversary that it was old as christianity. Neither of these propositions being tenable, each of the debaters beat the other. By and by Eck challenged his opponent with the incidental proposition that Huss had been properly condemned at Constance. To this Luther replied that some of the propositions of Huss were Christian and evangelical. This was the trap which caught the fox. Eck replied in the midst of great excitement: "Then, worthy father, you are to me a heathen man and a publican."

It appears that this was the first time in which Luther had openly questioned the authority of the Church. Huss had been condemned by a general council. Luther had himself previously appealed from the Pope to a council as the final tribunal of the Church. That he now stood ready to challenge the decision even

of the court of last appeal, showed that he was willing, if necessary, to overstep the boundaries of the Church. From this time forth there remained for him nothing but to retract or to go to war with Rome.

It was the peculiarity of the situation now present in Germany that whereas Luther had appeared weak when in the conciliatory mood with Miltitz, he now appeard strong in his defiant mood with Eck. The German people in general looked to him as to a champion whose coming had been long deferred. They gloried in his courage, and as far as the fearful spirit of the age would permit, rallied to his support.

Soon after the Leipsic disputation the able and courageous Ulrich von Hutten joined the cause of Luther. The learned and mild-spirited Philip Melanchthon had already become the right hand of the Reformer. Thus strengthened the latter went on from point to point in his renunciation of the Romish doctrines. From declaring against the infallibility of the Pope and the councils he proceeded to the denial of the Holy Father's right to declare laws for the Church, to canonize saints, to withhold the sacramental wine from the laity. He next declared against the doctrine of purgatory and of the seven sacraments. In short, he came around rapidly to almost the identical ground which Huss had occupied before the Council of Constance. He appears to have been surprised, perhaps alarmed, at the complete transformation through which his beliefs were passing. In 1520 he wrote to Spalatin, saying: "We are all Hussites without knowing it. Paul and Augustine are Hussites. I am so amazed I know not what to think." In this same year he issued his pamphlet: *To the Christian Nobles of the German Nation*, in which he vehemently urges the princes to resist the Romish Church and to cast off the despotism which she was attempting to establish over the people. Such were the tone and subject-matter of the address as to dissipate all idea of a reconciliation.

The Ancient Empire tottered. Pope Leo without, as it appears, desiring to go to such an extreme, issued a bull of excommunication against Luther, and commissioned Eck to carry it to Germany. So great a change had passed over the minds of men that the terrible document and its bearer were received with repugnance and contempt. Some of the rulers proclaimed the bull with reluctance; others not at all. Frederick the Wise spewed it out of his mouth. As to the University of Wittenberg, the institution took fire at the attempt of the Church to destroy their favorite doctor.

Under the stimulus of this support Luther became defiant. His audacity rose with the occasion. Instead of bowing to the mandate of the Pope, he treated it with the utmost disdain. He posted a public notice on the church-door at Wittenberg, inviting the university and the people to assemble on the 10th of December, when he would by formal act destroy the dreadful document which had been hurled against him. At the appointed time a solemn procession was formed, and filing through the Elstergate the throng assembled in an open space, and there, in the presence of the multitude, some horrified and others applauding, the little Black Friar of Erfurt made a bonfire of Pope Leo's bull. The act was the sensation of the age. Never before had mortal man dared to trifle with and insult in such manner a document of the Roman pontiff. That Luther was able to do so with impunity was *prima facie* proof that a great change had swept over the beliefs and purposes of men, and that a new age had dawned upon the world.

The Church had now exhausted all save one of her resources. She had persuaded; she had warned; she had sent her most learned champions to debate; she had tried diplomacy; she had thundered her ban of excommunication—and all to no purpose. She still had one arrow in her tremendous quiver, and that was the appeal to the temporal power. She now resolved to lay hold of the secular arm, and draw the sword of vengeance against him whom she could not otherwise reduce to obedience.

In the mean time the throne of the German Empire, which since 1493 had been occupied by Maximilian I., passed by descent in the year 1519 to the celebrated CHARLES V., at that time but nineteen years of age. The young Emperor, by his birth and antecedents, occupied the most conspicuous place which had been held by any European sovereign since the days of Charlemagne. It appeared that nature had conspired to confer upon him by hereditary descent the crowns of the greater

part of the states of Europe. By his father, Philip, he was the grandson and heir of Maximilian I. and Mary of Burgundy, and by his mother, Joan, the grandson and heir of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. Well might a prince born to such an inheritance cherish the dream of universal dominion; and well might the Church of Rome look to him as the one who should avenge her on her enemies.

Foreseeing that the Pope would "appeal to Cæsar," Luther, on the election of the new Emperor, wrote him a letter, begging him not to condemn unheard a monk whose crime consisted in standing for conscience and reason against the abuses of the Church. It happened that Frederick the Wise had been one of the electors to whom Charles was indebted for his elevation to the Imperial throne. It was notorious that Luther was in the friendship and under the protection of Frederick. The situation thus suggested fair treatment and justice at the hands of the Emperor as it respected the Reformer. So when an Imperial edict was issued convening a Diet at Worms to arrange the judicial districts of the Empire and to raise an army to fight the French in Lombardy, an invitation was sent to Luther to appear before the body and defend himself against the charges preferred by the papal court. This invitation was gladly accepted; for it was precisely the opportunity to be heard which he had so greatly desired. None the less, the enterprise was hazardous to the last degree, and many would dissuade him from going to Worms. For they remembered the journey of Huss to Constance.

Luther, however, was resolute in his purpose to attend the Diet. Accordingly, in April of 1521, he set out from the university to the assembly. As he came near the city friends gathered around him and remonstrated the more against his going. But his courage rose to heroism, and he replied that he would go to Worms though there were as many devils in the city as there were tiles on the roofs of the houses. So, seated in an open wagon and clad in his monk's dress, he entered the gates, and found himself not friendless. Several of the princes called to see him, and were favorably impressed by his demeanor. On the 17th of April he was led before the Diet assembled in the City Hall. It is related that as he entered the august presence, George von Frundsberg, a celebrated German general, tapped him on the shoulder and said: "Little monk! thou art in a strait the like of which myself and many leaders in the most desperate battles have never known. But if thy thoughts are just, and thou art sure of thy cause, go on in the name of God, and be of good cheer; for He will not forsake thee." "That monk will never make a heretic of me," said Charles V., as Luther came into the hall.

At the first, the Reformer was overawed and embarrassed. His writings were enumerated, and he acknowledged them. A retraction was demanded, and he asked for time. One day was granted, and then he returned calm and self-possessed. He spoke clearly and firmly, in both Latin and German, so that all might understand. He would not retract; for he believed his doctrines to be true. He would hear to reason, but would not be overawed by the authority of the papal Church. At the close, he said, with great power and pathos: "Unless, therefore, I should be confuted by the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, and by clear and convincing reasons, I can not and will not retract; because there is neither wisdom nor safety in acting against conscience. Here I stand. I can not do otherwise. God help me! Amen."

Such was the effect of the presence and speech of the great monk, that Charles deemed it prudent to forbid a discussion—at least for the present—of the subject of his alleged heresy. He gave orders, however, that as soon as the twenty-one days of Luther's safe-conduct should expire, he should be prosecuted as a heretic. Hereupon, the zealots of the papal party besought the Emperor to break the pledge of safety which had been given to the disturber of christendom, and proceed at once against him. To this base appeal, Charles returned the ever-memorable answer: "I will not blush like Sigismund at Constance." So the Reformer was permitted to go at will. As he left the hall of the Diet, Frederick the Wise and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse walked by his side out of the den of lions. It was evident that the princes of the Empire had determined to save him from destruction.

This fact became still more apparent in the drama which was now enacted. Luther left

Worms to return to Wittenberg. On entering the Thuringian Forest, he was seized by four Knights in armor, with vizors down, placed upon a horse, and carried away in friendly captivity. For a plot had been made among the princes to do this thing in order to make sure of his safety. It was given out, however, that Luther was murdered, and the news of the supposed tragedy was carried on the wings of the wind to all parts of Germany. But instead of extinguishing his doctrine and restoring the ancient *régime*, the intelligence of the destruction of their champion only confirmed the German people in their antagonism to Rome. They read Luther's books more than ever, and openly set at nought the papal bull and Imperial edicts requiring the writings of the Reformer to be destroyed.

On a mountain near Eisenach stood the castle of Wartburg. In this stronghold Luther was safely immured by his captors. He became himself a Knight—that is, in his habit. He wore a helmet, breast-plate, and sword. His beard grew long, and he was known as Squire George. In the privacy of his chamber, however, he was still Luther the Reformer. Here he set himself, with great zeal, to the work of translating the New Testament into German. Hardly had this work been completed, when the news was borne to his retreat that a serious state of affairs had supervened at Wittenberg. Carlstadt had become a fanatic. He had preached the abolition of the mass, the destruction of pictures and statues, and the immediate coming of God's kingdom. Around him had gathered a sect of religionists called Anabaptists, who were making the city howl with their millennial uproar.

Luther was greatly disturbed at this intelligence. Against the protest of the few friends who were in the secret of his being alive, he left the Wartburg castle and rode to Wittenberg. His appearance was so changed that he was not at first recognized, even by Melanchthon. He began preaching against the excesses of Carlstadt and his followers, and in a short time the tide turned, and they were expelled from the city. In September of 1522 the German New Testament was published, and then Luther and Melanchthon devoted themselves to the task of preparing a new and more simple ritual suitable to the wants of the Protestantism that was about to be.

The work of the Reformers went on grandly. During the year 1522, the movement made great headway in Saxony, Hesse, and Brunswick. In these countries, a great majority of the people went over to the reformed doctrines. In Frankfort, also, and in Strasbourg, Nuremberg, and Magdeburg the defection from Rome was as astonishing as it was alarming to the papal party. The Augustinian monks in these cities were almost a unit in their support of Luther. Many of the Franciscans, also, joined his followers, and the common priests did likewise. The agitation became revolutionary, and ever-increasing numbers made the cause respectable.

The year 1524 was an unfortunate one for the Reformers. German human nature began to exhibit itself as Bohemian human nature had done a hundred years before. It was the story of the Taborites and Calixtines repeated. A prophet arose named Thomas Münzer, and delivered his rhapsodies to the peasants of Würtemberg and Baden. His foolish harangues soon bore their legitimate fruit. The deluded multitude took up arms, and published a declaration. The people should henceforth choose their own priests. No tithes should be levied except on harvests. Feudal serfdom should be abolished. The poor should have the free use of the forest. The special privileges of the lords to hunt and fish should be restricted. The arbitrary authority of the landed proprietors should cease. It will be seen at a glance that these poor peasants knew what they wanted, but did not know the impossibility at that time of obtaining a redress of political and social grievances by means of the religious agitation which had been started by the Reformers.

But the calm-minded Luther was wiser than the fanatic multitudes. With a heavy heart, he took sides against them. He saw clearly enough that all hope of success in an effort for religious reform would be jeoparded if the cause should be yoked with the schemes of Münzer. He accordingly issued a pamphlet condemning the insurgents, and exhort-

ing his friends and followers to wash their hands of fanaticism. The real greatness of the Reformer appeared in the transaction; for he used his influence with the nobles of the revolted districts to save the peasants from punishment.

Notwithstanding the good offices of Luther, the insurrectionary spirit could not be quelled. In the following year an army of thirty thousand deluded creatures, just such as the Taborite host had been in the time of the Bohemian revolt, gathered in Southern Germany, and rushed from place to place, doing an infinity of mischief and crime. Convents were pillaged, castles burned, and people massacred by thousands. At last Count Waldburg appeared on the scene, and the insurgents were defeated and dispersed. Another band, numbering eight thousand, headed by Münzer, met a similar fate at Mühlhausen in Saxony, and, by the close of 1525, the revolt was at an end.

The moderate course pursued by Luther established his reputation with the German princes. He now found time to complete the translation of the Bible—a work not less important to rising Protestantism in Northern Europe than to the nationality of Germany. For it gave her a language almost as rich and strong as that which Wickliffe and Chaucer had given to England—and much more flexible. In this great work, Luther's own industry and scholarship were assisted by the equal zeal and higher learning of Philip Melanchthon, who, without the amazing physical energy and warlike spirit of his chief, contributed the resources of a great and earnest mind to the work of evangelizing his country.

In the meantime, namely, in the year 1521, Leo X. had died. He was succeeded on the papal throne by Adrian VI., the last of the German popes. Nor is it unlikely that had this kindly spirited pontiff lived a more compromising tone and manner might have been assumed by the papal party, and a possible settlement reached of the difficulties which had rent the Church in twain. But after a brief reign of two years' duration, Adrian died and was succeeded by another of the Medici, who took the title of Clement VII. No sooner had the latter come to the papal seat than he began to organize his forces for the suppression of the great German heresy. He induced Ferdinand of Austria, brother of Charles V., together with the dukes of Bavaria and many of the bishops, to make a league against the Lutherans. Frederick the Wise, who, to the end of his life, had been the staunchest supporter of the Reformer, was now dead. His successor, who was John of Saxony, together with Philip of Hesse, Albert of Brandenburg, the dukes of Brunswick and Mecklenburg, Counts Mansfeld and Anhalt, and the city of Magdeburg, made a counter alliance, known as the League of Torgau, and in the year 1526 bound themselves by a solemn compact to defend the cause of the Reformers.

By this time the beliefs of the protestant party began to be sufficiently dogmatic to constitute the basis of a new church constitution. The fundamental doctrines of the Lutherans were, first, the abolition of monasticism; second, the denial of celibacy as a prerequisite of the priestly office; third, the use of the vernacular language in public worship; fourth, the reading of the Bible in the tongue of the people; fifth, the administration to the laity of both bread and wine in the sacrement; and sixth, the education of the common people in the doctrines of Christianity. Luther himself put into practice the creed which he defended in theory. As early as 1525 he set at naught the tradition of the Church by renouncing celibacy and entering into marriage; and as if this course were not sufficiently radical he added horror to his offense be selecting the noble nun, Catharine Von Bora, as his wife. The measure produced its natural result in the way of angry denunciation, and such were the deep-seated prejudices of the age that many of Luther's friends abandoned his cause on account of his marriage.

During the years of the growth and spread of the new doctrines in Germany, the political affairs of Europe had become in the highest degree critical. Charles V. from his Spanish capital had begun a successful war with Francis I. of France, who, in 1525, had been defeated and captured in the great battle of Pavia. Afterwards the prisoner king had purchased his freedom, and then renewed the war. For four years the struggle continued with varying successes until 1529, when it was concluded by the treaty of Cambray. In the following year Charles V. was crowned as

"Roman" Emperor in the city of Bologna, and in return for the favor of the Pope agreed to extirpate the Lutheran heresy. In this work he received the assistance of his brother Ferdinand, who as king of Bohemia and Hungary began a series of bloody persecutions, which were only suspended by the necessity under which Ferdinand found himself of devising some adequate measures of defense against the Turks. To this end be convened the Diet at Speyer. This body passed an edict reaffirming the one which had been adopted at Worms against the Reformers. The vote, however, by which the edict was passed was not very decisive, and the minority, consisting of seven princes, including those of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Hesse, together with fifteen of the imperial cities, drew up and signed a solemn *protest* against the action of the majority. In the document a demand was made for the convening of a universal council to settle the questions in dispute, but since this point could not or would not be conceded by the Catholics, the signers of the paper, and those whom they represented, were obliged to content themselves with assuming the title of *Protestants*—a name which has ever since been employed to designate the various Christian sects at variance with Rome.

The Diet of Speyer marked the completion of the first stage in the progress of the New Church. Up to this time the movement had been for the most part moral and religious. It became henceforth in a large measure political. The European states soon began to

LEO X.

range themselves in a Catholic and a Protestant league. Both parties drew the sword, and, as we shall see in the subsequent narrative, converted all Europe into a battle-field for more than a hundred years. Before proceeding, however, to give an account of this sad and bloody work, it will be appropriate in the conclusion of the present chapter to present an outline of the Reformation which, under the leadership of Ulric Zwingli of Zurich had, in the mean time, been accomplished in Switzerland.

This distinguished patriot and religious leader was born in the canton of St. Gall, in 1484. In character and purpose his life had the same general outline as that of Luther. Like that powerful and courageous leader, Zwingli derived his principles directly from the Bible, and like him he sought to bring back the Christian religion to what he conceived to be its original purity of doctrine and practice. Perceiving the essential identity of the movement in Germany and in Switzerland, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, wiser than his generation, undertook to secure the religious and political union of the Reformers in both countries. In this great work, however, he was seriously impeded by Luther, who, dreading the political aspect which the Reformation was assuming, was disposed to keep the German Church entirely dissociated from any and all other religious organizations. So tenacious was he in his views that he had opposed the League of Torgau. He was at the present juncture deeply absorbed in his work of translating the Bible, and in preparing a collection of hymns to be used by the German Protestants. Nevertheless he finally assented to hold a conference with Zwingli, and in 1529 the two great leaders had a meeting at Marburg.

At this conference Melanchthon, Justus Jonas, a Reformer of Nordhausen, and several others who had espoused the cause of Luther in different parts of German Europe, were present. A full and comparatively unembarrassed interview and free exchange of views were had, and it was found that Luther and Zwingli were at one in all matters regarded as essential except in the doctrine of the Eucharist. As to that sacrament, the German reformer held firmly to consubstantiation—that is, the presence of Christ's body and blood in the bread and wine—and from this Zwingli dissented. At another point as it related to Church polity there was a serious divergence of opinion. Zwingli believed in the combination of the religious and secular arms of power; whereas Luther held strenuously to the complete divorcement of Church and State. Great was the anxiety of Philip of Hesse to bring about a complete reconciliation among the counsellors. But the obstinate Luther would yield in nothing. Nor was the temper which he manifested at all calculated to conciliate his opponents. The conference ended without the desired result. Zwingli appears to have been profoundly affected. He burst into tears. "Let us," said he, "confess our union in all things in which we agree; and, as for the rest, let us remember that we are brothers." "Yes, yes," said the Landgrave Philip, "you agree. Give, then, a testimony of unity and recognize one another as brothers." Zwingli replied as he approached Luther and the Wittenberg doctors: "There are none upon earth with whom I more desire to be united than with you." With this sentiment Œcolampadius and Bucer heartily agreed. "Acknowledge each other as brothers," continued the Landgrave. But the stern and solemn Luther withheld his hand from those which were proffered, and replied almost in the tone of a bigot: "You have a different spirit from ours." At the end, however, the meeting adjourned in a kind of amity which served to appease, if it did not satisfy, the eager desires of Philip.

CHAPTER CI.—CHARLES, HENRY, AND FRANCIS.

IT will be remembered that on his accession to the throne of the German Empire, Charles V. retired into Spain. Some years previously, namely, in 1515, Francis I. had inherited the crown of France. The two princes had been rival candidates for the imperial honor at the Diet by which Charles was elected Emperor. The success of his adversary kindled in Francis all the passions incident to jealous monarchs, and a hostility arose between the two rulers which continued with almost unabated bitterness to the end of their lives.

It was not, however, more a clash of political interests and variance in religious policy than deep-seated personal antagonism which led to the outbreak and continuance of war between France and the Empire. As usual in such cases, the parties had little difficulty in finding a cause of strife. The same was discovered in Italy and Navarre. To these provinces both sovereigns laid claim, Charles on the ground that the countries in question were a part of the Imperial dominions, and Francis, on the ground that he was a lineal descendant of Louis VIII., to whom the crowns in question had belonged. Before going to war, however, it became necessary, or at least in the highest measure desirable, for the rival monarchs to obtain the favor and support of a *third* ruler, whose influence seemed essential to the success of either.

For in the mean time young HENRY VIII., of England, son of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, had on the death of his gloomy and illiberal father, in 1509, inherited the undisputed crown of the Normans and Plantagenets. He came to the throne with genius and ambition, ready for any enterprise which the promotion of English grandeur or the gratification of his own caprice might suggest. The beginning of his reign was an epoch of prosperity in England. The youthful king exhibited great wisdom in the choice of his counselors and in weeding out some criminal favorites who had disgraced the kingdom during the last years of his father. His principal vice was a certain extravagance, or at least magnificence, in the government as well as in his personal tastes and amusements. Nor was it long until the effects of his excessive expenditure began to be felt in the treasury. In order to counteract what he could not prevent the king's counselor, Fox, introduced at court the famous Cardinal Wolsey, a man of low birth, but shrewd, far-sighted, and ambitious. It soon appeared that this new factor in English politics was disposed to use both king and kingdom for his own benefit.

As early as 1513, before either Francis or Charles had come into power on the continent, King Henry was induced by his father-in-law Ferdinand the Catholic (for the English monarch had chosen Catharine of Aragon for his queen), to undertake a war with France. An English army was taken over to Calais, and the French, under Duke de Longueville, were met and defeated in the Battle of the Spurs—so-called from the hasty flight of the French cavalry. Henry then captured Tournay, and having satisfied his whim for war, he turned his attention to tournaments and sumptuous feasting. After the manner of the times it was agreed that the French and English kings should come to peace, and that the bond should be sealed with the marriage of Henry's sister Mary to the then spouseless Louis XII. In order to carry out this arrangement, Henry returned to England, and the Princess Mary was sent to Paris. Scarcely, however, had the marriage been consummated, when King Louis died. Mary returned to England and the French crown descended to the youthful Francis I.

It was in the disposition of the two princes, equally gallant and whimsical, to whom the crowns of France and England had now fallen, to outdo each other in kingly splendor. Albeit the reputation and glory of their respec-

tive realms depended upon the glitter of pageantry, the waving of white plumes, and the drinking of wine! It was agreed that the two kings should have a personal interview, at which their relative splendor might be tested by comparison. Charles V., who had now come to the throne of the Empire, was stung with jealousy when he heard that Francis and Henry were going to encamp together and regale themselves with royal banquets, at which, doubtless, measures would be devised for the curtailment of his own ambitions. With a view to preventing the proposed meeting he went into England and paid a visit to the magnificent Henry, whom he cajoled not a little with flatteries. Nor did the German Spaniard who had inherited from his ancestors the steady purposes of the northern and the craftiness of the southern blood, fail to employ such means as were most likely to attach the great Cardinal Wolsey to his cause. The argument best suited to convince that prelate was money.

None the less, in June of 1520, the two monarchs carried out their purpose and pledge of a personal interview. The meeting took place near Calais, in a plain henceforth known as the "Field of the Cloth of Gold." The French king and his court made their head-quarters at Ardres, while Henry and his brilliant retinue took lodging in the palace of Guines. Two thousand eight hundred tents, most of them covered with silk and cloth-of-gold, were pitched in the plain. But even the accommodations thus afforded were insufficient for the multitudes of lords and ladies who flocked to the royal spectacle. So many came that not a few of the gay creatures who waved their plumes and flashed their gold lace in the sunlight by day were glad to find shelter by night in the hay-lofts and barns of the surrounding country. For two weeks the pageant continued. One banquet followed another. Splendid Frenchmen, who had forgotten their descent from the Franks and Northmen, and ridiculous English lords, oblivious of the sturdy fame of the Lion Heart and the bloody glory of York and Lancaster, vied with each other in the spectacular follies and princely drunkenness of the occasion. The ceremonial was under the general direction of Cardinal Wolsey, who omitted no circumstance which appeared likely to add to the excitement of each day, the glamour of each pageant, and incidentally to conduce to his own reputation as a manager of royal affairs.

It could but be known, however, to the principal actors in this great show, that their renewed and solemnly attested pledges of friendship and princely affection were more hollow than the hollow wind. After the adjournment of the conference, the Emperor Charles made haste to efface as much as possible the effects of the meeting and spectacle from Henry's mind. He sought an interview with that elated prince at Gravelines and afterwards at Calais, where the tournaments and festival, lately witnessed on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, were renewed under Anglo-Spanish auspices, and it is probable that, so far at least as Wolsey was concerned, he was converted to the Emperor's interest. The ascendency of the Cardinal from this time forth became more and more pronounced. On the return of the king to England, the Duke of Buckingham, fretting under the mastery of the royal mind by Wolsey, offered an insult

DRINKING HEALTH ON THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

to that dignitary, for which he was arrested, charged with treason, condemned, and executed. Such was the condition of affairs in the West, when German Europe was shaken to its center by the news that the resolute monk of Wittenberg had publicly burned the Pope's bull of excommunication in the presence of the professors and students of the university.

LANDING OF THE ENGLISH FLEET WITH HENRY VIII. AT CALAIS.
Drawn by Th. Weber.

When the intelligence of this daring business was carried to England, the good and orthodox Henry VIII. took up the cause of the Church against the Reformers. He aspired to authorship, and entered the controversial arena. He wrote a Latin book against the heresies of Luther, and a copy of the work was carried to Rome and presented to Leo X. That potentate gladly welcomed the royal champion, and praised his work with interested flattery as being an embodiment of "wisdom, learning, zeal, charity, gravity, gentleness, and meekness." The pontiff also conferred on King Henry the title of "Defender of the Faith," which has ever since been retained with ridiculous inconsistency as a part of the royal description of the English kings.

In the year 1522, Emperor Charles again visited England. The occasion was one of banqueting and pageants; but the Emperor had a profounder purpose than could be discovered in gold lace and wine cups. Again using Wolsey as his agent, he so corrupted, or at least won over, the English nobles as effectually to break off the friendly relations with France. Great was the chagrin, the anger, of the French king on learning of the defection of his English allies. For a season, he was in a mood to curse the Field of the Cloth of Gold and all its recollections. He declared of Henry VIII., into whose bedchamber at Guines, only two years before, he had gone one morning unannounced for the jocular purpose of waking his royal friend from his slumber, that he held him from that day forth as his mortal enemy.

By his success, the Emperor now found himself free to undertake a war with his rival. Both Francis and Charles were eager to begin the contest. Henry, however, held aloof, and assumed the character of umpire between his two friends. As already said, the bone of contention between France and the Empire was Italy; and that country was now destined to become the scene of the war. It was the misfortune of Francis at this juncture to be plagued with a corrupt ministry and unskillful generals. The principal military command was intrusted to Lautrec and Bonivet, in preference to the cautious and prudent Constable de Bourbon. In the court the French king's mother, Louise of Savoy, gained a hurtful ascendency, and the offices of the state were flung right and left to her favorites. The only promising circumstance in the expedition of Francis into Italy was the bravery of the French soldiers, who, had they been well commanded, could hardly have failed of success. The result of the first campaign was a mutiny of Lautrec's army, which he had allowed to come to the verge of starvation by failure of supplies and pay, and the consequent loss of Milan to France. It transpired that Semblançai, the treasurer of France, had permitted the moneys necessary for the support of the army to pass into the hands of the queen mother, by whom it had been squandered upon her favorites. In order to shield her from public contumely, Semblançai was arrested and put to death. Another episode of the opening year of the war was the defection of the Constable Bourbon. This brave and able general, stung to madness by neglect and the disgraces heaped upon him by Louise and her court, abandoned the king's cause and went over to the Emperor.

Francis, however, continued his preparations to renew the contest in Italy, and sent thither, as soon as practicable, a second army commanded by Bonivet. He was confronted by the Imperial forces under Lannoy and Pescara, and was soon defeated. Being wounded himself, the command of the French was devolved upon the famous Pierre du Terrail Bayard, the *Chevalier sans Peur et sans Reproche*—the knight without fear and without reproach. But he, too, who had led the advance in the battle, and was now obliged to conduct the retreat, had reached the end of his chivalrous career. While fighting with the rearguard in a ravine near the banks of the Sesia, he was struck from his horse by a stone discharged from an arquebuse and carried aside to die. At his own request he was set by his soldiers with his face to the on-coming enemy, and thus expired, confessing his sins to his squire.

Meanwhile a secret agreement had been made by Charles and the Constable Bourbon with Henry VIII., who, being unable to keep his friends from going to war, had himself become eager to share in the spoils. It was agreed that France should be divided into

three parts, of which Bourbon was to have Provence with all which had formerly belonged to the kings of Arles. Henry was to receive the ancient duchy of Guienne; and the Emperor was to take the remainder of the kingdom. In order to enforce the contract, Bourbon, who was thought to have great influence with the French soldiers, was sent with Pescara to conduct the war from the side of Italy.

CHEVALIER BAYARD.

An invasion of France was begun, but the army, which was expected to go over to Bourbon, remained loyal to the king. The Constable was driven back into Italy and pursued across the Alps by Francis, greatly elated with his success. Instead, however, of pressing his advantage by the continued pursuit of the flying enemy, the king was induced by the pernicious advice of Bonivet to turn aside and lay siege to Pavia. This course proved fatal to his ambitions. Pavia was well provisioned, better garrisoned, and best defended. After a siege of some months' duration, the king found himself in the beginning of 1525 almost destitute of provisions, and in every circumstance of discouragement. Bourbon and Lannoy were advancing with a powerful army. The French were weakened and their ammunition almost exhausted. Francis was advised to raise the siege and retire before an enemy whom he was not strong enough to face. But the king, after the manner of absurd lovers, had written a letter to his mistress in which he had promised her to take Pavia or lose his crown in the attempt. Like a loyal fool he now put his life and kingdom in jeopardy in order to make good his word to his sweetheart.

When the Imperial army reached Pavia, the French were encamped in the park of the city. The belligerent forces pitched their tents in plain view the one of the other. The first attack made by the Imperialists was repelled. Thereupon Francis, imagining himself already victorious, and losing his senses in the excitement, sallied forth from his camp and attacked

DEATH OF CHEVALIER BAYARD.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

the Spaniards, driving them before him; but the main body under Bourbon and Lannoy checked his course, and the French in their turn gave way. At this juncture the garrison sallied forth and made an attack on the king's rear. The division commanded by the Duke of Alençon gave way in confusion, he himself flying from the field. Francis, conspicuous by his brilliant armor, fought like a Crusader. He was several times wounded. His horse was killed under him. Covered with dust and blood, he was attacked by two soldiers, and their swords were already at his breast when he was recognized and saved by one of Bourbon's French attendants. But his heart quailed not even in the dire emergency, and he obstinately refused to surrender to the Constable. He demanded to see Lannoy in order that he might surrender to him, but before the latter could arrive, the Spanish soldiers had torn off the king's belt and stripped him of his coat of mail. As soon, however, as he had surrendered he was treated with the utmost courtesy. He was taken to a private tent, where his wounds were dressed, and the Constable de Bourbon appointed to attend his fallen majesty at supper. The battle had been in all respects disastrous to the French cause, for Bonivet, the veteran La Trimouille, and ten thousand of the best soldiers of France were slain.

The dissembling Charles affected to receive the news of the capture of his *friend*, the French king, with great regret. He overestimated the advantage which the possession of his rival's person gave. He believed that the battle of Pavia and captivity of Francis virtually laid the kingdom of the Capets at his feet. Accordingly, when his council advised him to act with magnanimity and to signalize his great victory by the restoration of the royal prisoner to his crown and kingdom, he refused except on condition that the whole of Burgundy should be surrendered as the price of his freedom. The Emperor also demanded that Bourbon should be unconditionally restored to his place as Constable of France, and that Provence and Dauphiny should be given to him in independent sovereignty. As a matter of course, Francis rejected with scorn these conditions and vehemently asserted his purpose to remain in perpetual captivity rather than assent to such a humiliation and disruption of his kingdom. Charles determined to give him his choice of alternatives, and Francis was accordingly confined in the castle of Cremona, under custody of Don Ferdinand Alarcon. After a season he was conveyed to Spain, where he was re-immured in prison and treated with much severity. Only at intervals was he permitted, under a strong guard, to ride forth into the open air, his beast, a contemptible mule.

In France the effect of the capture of the king was other than might have been expected. Even the queen mother was shocked from her folly, and she with the ministers began to make strenuous exertions to retrieve the disaster. King Henry of England, also affecting sorrow for the misfortunes of his old-time friend, interceded with the Emperor for his liberation; but to all these prayers Charles turned a deaf ear until what time the captive king fell sick of a fever and seemed about to die. The Emperor easily perceived the valueless quality of a king dead on his hands, and he immediately relaxed the rigor of the captivity. He permitted the Princess Margaret, sister of Francis, to come to him in prison, and he himself at last paid a visit to the emaciated majesty of France. The feeble king lifted himself from the couch to reproach his captor with bad faith and cruelty, and Charles replied with well-affected words of sympathy.

After a confinement of more than a year Francis at last began to take counsel of his forlorn condition, and presently desired to reöpen negotiations for his freedom. Charles, however, would make no concessions other than those already tendered as the price of the king's liberation. To this the heartsick Francis finally assented, and in March of 1526 a treaty was signed at Madrid in which it was agreed that the French Monarch should marry Eleanor, sister of the Emperor; that he should surrender Burgundy, Milan, and Naples; that the Constable should be restored, and that his two sons should be sent to the Spanish capital as hostages for the fulfillment of all conditions. Francis was then conducted by Lannoy to the Bidassoa, a small stream dividing France from Spain. There, on the opposite bank with Lautrec, were his two children who were to take his place in prison. The parties met in the middle of the stream. Hastily embracing

his children the king bade them adieu and was rowed to the other side. Here his horse was in waiting for him. Quickly mounting he rode off at full speed, crying out, "I am still a king!" At Bayonne he was joined by his mother and sister, and the company moved on to Paris.

In a short time the Emperor demanded the

CAPTURE OF FRANCIS I.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

fulfillment of the treaty. Francis at first temporized with the question, and then refused to comply on the ground that the conditions were extorted from him while in prison. He accepted of Eleanor in marriage, but would take no further step towards keeping his pledge. Even the knowledge that his two sons, the princes, were subjected to harsh treatment and almost starved in the prison of Madrid moved him not to sacrifice his interest to his faith.[1]

Finding that the treaty was fated to be and had already become a dead letter, Charles at once renewed the war. Meanwhile the jealousy and anger of Europe were thoroughly aroused—jealousy on account of the overgrown power and ill-concealed ambition of the Emperor, and anger at his personal cruelty and the rapacity of his armies. The Pope espoused the cause of Francis. Henry VIII. also decided in his favor. The action of the Holy Father gave good excuse to Bourbon, whose troops had become mutinous for the want of pay, to march on Rome and deliver up the city to plunder. On the 5th of May, 1527, the Imperial army, led by the Constable, made an assault on the walls of Rome. While the charge was at its height, Bourbon, while placing a ladder for the scaling of the rampart, was struck by a shot and fell mortally wounded. The command devolved upon Philibert, of Orange, under whom the assault was successfully completed. Rome was taken and given up to pillage. The Pope himself was taken prisoner and confined in the castle of St. Angelo.

When the Emperor Charles heard that the Holy Father was immured he ordered his court to go into mourning for the calamity which had befallen the Head of the Church! But he took good care in his well dissembled grief not to censure the dead Constable or to make any effort for the liberation of His Holiness from prison. For several months, during which the Imperial army retained possession, the city was subjected to almost every species of insult, violence, and ruin. At length, however, a pestilence broke out among the gluttonous and licentious soldiery and almost the whole army was destroyed. It is narrated that no more than five hundred survived to escape from the scene of their riot and carnival.

In the mean time a new French army had been thrown into the field under command of Lautrec. Advancing into Italy he found little trouble in driving the plague-stricken remnant of Philibert's forces from the Eternal City. Milan was retaken, and Pope Clement delivered from his captivity in the castle of St. Angelo. Lautrec then planned a campaign against Naples, but before he could achieve any success the expedition was ended with his life. Shortly afterwards the French army in Italy was obliged to capitulate to the imperialists, and in 1529 a treaty of peace was concluded at Cambray. The settlement was brought about chiefly through the agency of Louise of Savoy and Margaret, the Emperor's aunt. It was agreed that the French princes still in captivity at Madrid should be set at liberty; that a ransom of twelve thousand crowns should be paid as a price of their freedom; and that Francis should retain his crown and kingdom. Though the terms of the treaty were exceptionally favorable to France, so desperate was the condition of the country that several months elapsed before the money necessary for the ransom of the king's sons could be raised. When at last the sum was secured it was packed in forty-eight chests and conveyed to the Bidassoa, where it was given up to the Spanish authorities in exchange for the captive princes. The long broken household of the French king was thus again united and events in France began to flow in the same channel as before the outbreak of the war.

Francis I. now found time to devote himself to the pleasures of the court and to the cultivation of his taste for the fine arts, in which he excelled any other ruler of the period. He patronized the learned men of his time, invited artists to Paris, constructed royal buildings, and beautified the ancient palaces of the city. As for Emperor Charles he had reserved for himself a very different line of activities. After the treaty of Cambray, having then been absent for nine years from his Germanic dominions, he returned in the beginning of 1530

[1] One can but draw a comparison between the chivalrous conduct of King John returning to captivity because his hostages would not go back to Calais, and the mental reservations, duplicity, and faith-breaking of Francis on this occasion.

and established his court at Innsbruck. The peace to which he had agreed with Francis had been in a large measure the result of the mediation of the Pope. The Holy Father was, perhaps, averse to seeing the princes of the leading states of christendom engaged in war; but he was far more distressed at the fact that while the Christian kings were so engaged, the dreadful Lutheran heresy was taking root almost beyond the possibility of extirpation in all parts of Teutonic Europe.

CHARLES V. IN THE HOUSE OF ANTON FUGGER.
After the painting by Charles Becker.

He therefore exacted from Charles a solemn promise that as soon as he was disengaged from the conflict with France he would undertake the suppression of the heretics in Germany.

To this arrangement the Emperor was by no means averse. His own character and disposition were in hearty accord with such a work. Accordingly, as soon as he had fixed his royal residence at Innsbruck he summoned a diet to convene at Augsburg for the consideration of such measures as might be deemed necessary for the extermination of the Lutherans. To this great meeting the Reformers, with the exception of Luther, who was still under the ban of the Empire, were called to give an account of their principles and deeds.

The Diet of Augsburg was an assembly only second in importance to the Council of Constance. Charles V., who had come in person and taken his lodgings at the house of Anton Fugger, the great banker from whom the Emperor was wont for many years to procure loans of money, presided over the body which was now to hear and decide the questions at issue between the Mother Church and the Protestants.

On coming to the diet the Protestant princes and cities signed that celebrated document known as the Augsburg Confession of Faith, the same being drawn up with great care by Philip Melanchthon as an embodiment and expression of the beliefs and doctrines which the Reformers accepted and taught. It is highly illustrative of the spirit and manner of the age that the Emperor, when the great doc-

ument was to be read before the diet, took care, with his usual subtlety, that the same should be delivered, not in the great hall, but in the bishop's chapel at an early hour in the morning, before the people could assemble to hear the doctrines of their faith promulgated. And it is equally illustrative of the temper of the times that the people gained information of what was intended and gathered by thousands outside of the chapel, and that Dr. Bayer, who was appointed to read the Confession delivered the same from an open window in such a loud and ringing tone that the multitudes heard every word with distinctness. The Germans had already made up their minds to take a personal interest in the religion which they were expected to profess and practice.

The principal doctrines of the Augsburg Confession, which became henceforth the basis of belief in nearly all the Protestant countries, were these: That men are justified by faith alone; that the Church is simply an assembly of true believers; that religious ceremonies are not necessarily fixed in form, but may vary according to the wish and preference of the worshipers; that preaching the Gospel and the two sacraments, the one of baptism and the other of the eucharist, are necessary parts of the Christian religion; that the baptism of infants is biblical and sanctioned by the usages of the Church; that both bread and wine should be delivered to lay communicants in the sacrament; that Christ is really present in the elements of the communion; that monasticism is anti-Christian; that fasting, pilgrimages, and the invocation of saints are not a necessary part of true worship, and that the celibacy of the clergy is against the best practice and spirit of Christianity. The general effect of the proclamation of the great Confession was highly favorable to the cause of the Reformers, and the document was gladly signed by the best princes and soundest scholars of the Empire.

The means adopted by the Emperor to counteract the effect of the new articles of faith were in keeping with his character. He ordered the Catholic theologians present at the diet to prepare a refutation of the Confession, but at the same time he refused to permit the Protestants to have a copy of the papal reply, lest the refutation might be doubly refuted by Melanchthon and his compeers. He then commanded the Reformers instantly to return to the papal fold, not deigning to give to them and their demands any assurance of satisfaction beyond the vague intimation that he himself and the Pope would correct whatever abuses might be found to exist in the Church. This action, so consistent with the bigotry which for centuries had controlled the principles and policy of Rome, made irreparable the breach which had opened between the Catholic and Protestant parties, into which christendom was destined henceforth to be divided.

Before adjourning, the Diet of Augsburg proceeded to elect the Emperor's brother Ferdinand to the crown of Germany. This action was well understood by the Protestant princes to mean that the extirpation of themselves and their beliefs was to be undertaken by force. The Imperial courts were next ordered to suppress the reformed worship in the ten judicial districts of the Empire. Seeing that they were to be pressed to the wall, the Lutheran leaders assembled at Smalcald in Thuringia, and there entered into a solemn compact to resist to the last the measures which had been adopted against them. To this union Luther himself, who as long as possible had withheld his assent to all acts which contemplated the joining of secular with religious power as a means of promoting or maintaining the Reformation, now gave his sanction. The League of Smalcald gathered so much strength that Ferdinand, first surprised and then alarmed, began to quail and to advise some milder policy with respect to the heretics.

It was the peculiarity of the epoch which we are now considering, that the movement begun by Luther, to which a majority of the German people were now committed, was almost constantly favored by the political condition. This fact is fully illustrated in the course of the events which followed hard after the Diet of Augsburg. At the very time when Ferdinand, acting under the triple inspiration of the Pope, the Emperor, and his own bigotry, was ready to begin the work which had been assigned him by the Diet, the ominous cloud of a Turkish invasion blew up from the horizon of Hungary. That country was suddenly overrun by the armies of Sultan Solyman, whose appetite, whetted by conquest,

demanded, as its next gratification, the spoils of Austria. Already the Crescent might be seen waving in the direction of Vienna. It became necessary that Ferdinand should make preparations to resist the invasion, and, as antecedent to this, he must have peace in his dominions. The help of the Protestant princes was as essential to the success of the Imperial arms as was the support of the Catholics. The circumstances made it impossible to carry into effect the edict of the Augsburg Diet against the Reformers. So critical became the condition of affairs, that the Emperor was constrained to call a new Diet at Nuremberg. Quite changed was the temper of this body from that of the assembly convened at Augsburg only two years before. The apparition of Sultan Solyman had served to extract the fangs from the bloody jaws of persecution. In August of 1532, the new Diet concluded a *Religious Peace*, by the terms of which it was agreed that both Catholics and Protestants should refrain from hostilities pending the convocation of a general council of the Church to consider once more the questions which were at issue between the parties. This done, the Protestants cheerfully contributed their part to the means necessary for repelling the Turks. Even the command of the Imperial army of eighty thousand men was given to Sebastian Schertlin, a pronounced Protestant.

In the mean time, the Turks came on and laid siege to Vienna. Here, however, their long-continued successes were destined to come to an end. As soon as the Religious Peace was concluded, the combined army of Catholics and Protestants pressed forward to the rescue, and it was not long until the forces of Solyman were driven from before the city. Europe was delivered from the threatened avalanche, and the New Faith gained by the diversion of the energies of its enemies another respite and breathing-time.

In every place where this immunity from persecution was obtained, the cause of Protestantism flourished more and more. When the first six years of the Smalcaldic League had expired, the compact was renewed for a period of ten years, and with great accessions of strength. Germany, with the exception of Bavaria, became essentially Protestant. The "heresy" spread rapidly into Denmark, Sweden, and Holland. In England, also, in consequence of circumstances to be presently narrated, the reformed doctrine gained a foothold even in the court of the Tudors, and before the middle of the century had become the religion of the state.

In these days of the Reformation, the Protestants were already hard pressed by their adversaries in the logical application of their doctrines. In the first place, it could not be denied that the movement which had become organic in the hands of Luther and the Wittenberg doctors was in the nature of a schism. The Protestants must, therefore, defend the fact of schism, or else condemn themselves. What should be said, therefore, when out of the side of the new Protestantism just ushered into the world other sects burst forth, by a process identical with that by which the Reformers had disrupted Rome? Would the Protestants themselves take the attitude towards the schismatics which the Catholics had taken towards Luther and his co-workers? Would Protestantism condemn Protestantism?

SOLYMAN II.

If the Reformers had spurned the time-honored tradition and authority of the Church, and denied the right of the Pope and even of the council to dispense against the human conscience and the individual interpretation of the Scriptures, would these same disturbers of the religious peace of the world now turn about and assume the rôle of Rome? As a matter of fact, new Protestant sects began to arise on every hand. They protested against Protestantism. They were as recalcitrant under the restraint which the now conservative Luther would impose upon them, as he himself had been respecting the authority of Rome. It thus came to pass that, when Protestantism was asked whether *its* authority in the matters of faith and practice might be enforced upon the rebellious, it was obliged to answer: "Yes; no; sometimes." The illogical nature of such a reply was never more painfully apparent, and Rome stood by and mocked at the dilemma of the discomfited Lutherans.

In 1534 the Anabaptists, one of the most radical of the sects, obtained possession of the city of Münster and elected as Governor a certain Dutch tailor called John of Leyden. This dignitary proceeded to have himself crowned as king of Zion! Münster was the City of David Redeviva. Polygamy was introduced from ancient Israel, and whoever refused to participate in the millennium had his head cut off. For more than a year King John governed the new Holy City; but in 1535 the bishop of Münster retook Zion, together with her sovereign and his council of judges. He and two of his principal leaders were put to death with torture, and their marred bodies were suspended in iron cages above the principal door of the cathedral.

About the same time of the tragic ending of this religious farce, a certain Simon Menno of Friesland, founded a sect less pronounced in its tenets, less audacious in its practices. The community which he established was worthy of praise, for its unpretending piety and peaceful character. The sect of Mennonites thus founded before the middle of the sixteenth century held on its quiet way through the great drama of the age, and still exists, both in the land of its origin and in different parts of America.

In the mean time Charles V. had been appeasing his passion for universal dominion by carrying on a war in Africa. After the Peace of Cambray, he led an army into Tunis, and in 1535 laid siege to the piratical capital of that state. At length the city was taken and twenty-two thousand Christian captives were liberated from slavery. After a lull of some years' duration he returned and made an inglorious campaign against Algiers. So great was the ill-success of the expedition that Francis I., seeing the discomfiture of his now traditional enemy, grew bold and entered into an alliance with Sultan Solyman to humiliate their common foe. Denmark and Sweden also became members of this unholy union of the Cross and the Crescent against the greatest prince of secular christendom. So formidable became the array that the Emperor found it expedient to solicit a second time the aid of the Lutheran heretics against the combined forces of France and Islam. Returning to Germany Charles issued a call for a diet to convene in Speyer, and there the Religious Peace of Nuremberg was confirmed and extended. The Protestants were assured that henceforth they should have the use and protection of the Imperial courts in common with the Catholics, and that the long-standing disputes between the two parties should be submitted to a *Free* Council of the whole Church.

Having thus regained the confidence of the Protestant princes, the Emperor raised in their provinces an army of forty thousand men and proceeded to invade France. The French king soon found that he had reckoned without his host. Charles gained one success after another until he reached Soissons *en route* to Paris. Hereupon Francis returned to his senses and sought to make peace with his "good brother." A treaty was accordingly concluded at Crepsy in 1544. But the Emperor was in nowise disposed to forego the advantages which he now possessed, and Francis was obliged to give up Lombardy, Naples, Flanders, and Artois. As a kind of balm for the wounds of the king, Charles conceded to him a part of Burgundy. The peace being thus concluded, the two monarchs agreed to join their forces against the Turks *and the Protestants!* As a measure of prudence, however, the Emperor now insisted that the Œcumenical Council, so long promised and as long postponed, should be convened by the

Pope. Paul III., the reigning pontiff, finally assented to the measure, and the call was issued. But instead of convoking the body in Germany, the seat of the religious troubles of the century, the Holy Father named the town of Trent on the Italian side of Tyrol as the place of meeting. It was quite evident from this action, if from none other, that all hope of a settlement had passed away. When it was known that Trent had been selected as a place of meeting, and that Pope Paul had reserved for himself the entire control of the council, the Protestants, though invited to attend, refused to participate in the proceedings, and Luther, who until now had entertained the hope of a final adjustment of the difficulties of the Church, lost all patience and issued a pamphlet entitled "The Roman Papacy Founded by the Devil."

The great Reformer had in the mean time, in 1534, completed his translation of the Bible. This was of course the great work of his life, but his literary activity continued unabated, and his influence in his latter years was increased rather than diminished. He was regarded as the exemplar and epitome of the Reformation. To him the other leaders of Protestantism looked as to a general whose right it was to command. His labors were incessant, and from this circumstance rather than from any defect of constitution, his health gradually gave way. His spirits also at times became a prey to bodily infirmity. In the beginning of 1546, being then in the sixty-third year of his age, he was called to Eisleben, the place of his birth, to act as arbiter in some questions at issue between the counts of Mansfeld. Though ill able to undertake such a journey in the dead of winter he complied with the request. On reaching Eisleben, though greatly exhausted from fatigue, he performed the duties which were expected of him and preached on four occasions. In a few days, however, his strength gave away and it became evident to his friends that his last day was at hand. After a rapid decline he expired on the morning of the 17th of February, 1546. In his last hours he was surrounded by his friends, with whom he conversed cheerfully, praying devoutly at intervals until what time the shadows of death gathered about his couch and his eyes were closed forever to the scenes and struggles of mortality. On the 22d of February his body was solemnly buried in the city of Wittenberg, within a stone's throw of the memorable spot where he had so fearlessly burned the papal bull of excommunication.

CHAPTER CII.—THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

IT is now appropriate to glance briefly at the progress of events in England. It will be remembered that in the kingly drama in which the Emperor and Francis I. each eagerly sought as against the other to gain the favor and support of Henry VIII. in the end the Spaniard prevailed, and it was agreed that Charles should receive in marriage the Princess Mary, daughter of his friend, the English king. But the Imperial faith was plighted only to be broken as interest or policy might suggest. It was not long until Henry perceived that he had been cheated by the magnificent overtures of the Emperor.

For as soon as the latter, by the victory at Pavia and the capture of Francis had made himself master of the continental situation he forbore not to exhibit his ill-concealed contempt for Henry. Kingly ceremony was henceforth put aside. The Emperor neglected to pay back a sum of money which he had borrowed from Henry's treasury and refused to marry the princess. Meanwhile Cardinal Wolsey continued to play his magnificent part in the Tudor court. It was an open secret that he had twice aspired to the vacant seat of St. Peter, but twice the Italian and French cardinals had used their influence and votes to blast his hopes. Keen were the pangs of his disappointment, but he sought solace by increasing the splendors of his insular reign in

England. Every thing was made to bend to his will. Even his caprices were humored, his whims gratified, his unspoken wishes executed by the great who sought his favor. Without his voice it was impossible to reach the will, or even the ear, of the king. Against the Emperor, Wolsey, for good reason, cherished a deep-seated resentment; for Charles,

CARDINAL WOLSEY SERVED BY THE NOBLES.

ever since the days of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, had fed the fires of the Cardinal's ambition by promising him his support when next the pontifical chair should be vacant, and as often the promise had been broken. Wolsey, perceiving that he had nothing further to expect from the Imperial favor, now laid his plans to bring down the potentate at whose door he laid his own disappointed ambitions. He persuaded his master, Henry, to make peace with France to the end that the hopes of the Emperor to gain a universal dominion might be blasted.

It is the fate, however, of all such characters as the great English Cardinal, sooner or later, to be caught and whirled to destruction in the wheels of their own machinery. Wolsey was doomed to furnish a conspicuous example of the workings of this law. The marriage of Henry VIII. with Catharine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, has already been mentioned, but the fact that Catharine had been previously married to Arthur, Prince of Wales, elder brother of Henry VIII., has not been stated. Henry himself had been destined by his father to the service of the Church, but when in 1502 Prince Arthur died, Henry became heir apparent to the English throne.

The king now desired that Catharine should become the wife of his other son, but to this the Church was loth to consent; for it was not lawful according to the ecclesiastical canon for one to marry his brother's wife. None the less the marriage was finally consummated, and when in 1509 Henry received the crown from his father, Catharine became queen of England. She was five years the senior of her lord, and her lord was capricious. Finally, when the maiden, Anne Boleyn, daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, one of the ladies appointed to accompany the Princess Mary on the journey to her espousals with Louis XII. of France, arrived at court, the conscience of the king became suddenly aroused into activity, and he perceived with horror how heinous a crime he had committed in living for years with the wife of his dead brother. It was not the first time or the last in the history of royal passion in which a pretext has been sought and found behind the thick folds of alleged religious scruples for the doing of some forbidden deed predetermined by the purpose of the doer. Albeit, Cardinal Wolsey quickly perceived the drift of his master's affections and the inevitable catastrophe that lay just beyond, and proceeded to pour oil into the fire of the king's passion. In fact, Wolsey had one unvarying principle of policy which he followed with consistent persistency to the end, and that was—himself. He still cherished the vision of the papal crown, and was willing to use his master in what manner soever seemed conducive to his purpose. So when he saw the king becoming more and more enslaved by the charms of Anne Boleyn, and as a consequence more and more *conscientious* on account of his marriage with Catharine, Wolsey conceived the design of humoring Henry and of—betraying him if necessary.

The king soon determined to obey his conscience by the divorcement of the queen. To this project the Cardinal gave his consent, agreeing to use his influence with Pope Clement VII. to secure that potentate's assent to the annulling of the marriage. Perhaps the Pope—for the popes were supple in such matters—would have granted the divorce but for the apparition of the offended Emperor; for Charles was the nephew of Catherine, and was little disposed to see her displaced from the English throne. Accordingly, when Henry wrote to Clement stating his conscientious scruples and desiring a divorce, the pontiff temporized with the question and Henry was kept in suspense for more than a year. At last the Cardinal, Campeggio, was sent into England to hear the king's cause, and jointly, with Wolsey, to determine the legality or illegality of the king's marriage. At the first the legate sought to dissuade Henry from his purpose, but all to no avail. He then endeavored to induce Queen Catharine to solve the difficulty by retiring into a nunnery. But the queen was as little disposed to renounce her glory as was the king to deny his passion. So after another year spent in fruitless negotiations the question at issue came to a formal trial before the two cardinals, but those dignitaries seemed unable to reach any decision. In the mean time the king's impatience became intolerable, and matters approached a crisis.

Henry suspected Wolsey of not being duly zealous in his cause. The royal lover began to turn about to find a solution favorable to

his wishes. It chanced about this time that some of his ministers made the acquaintance of a brilliant young Cambridge priest named Thomas Cranmer, who said to them that his Majesty was foolish to waste further efforts in the endeavor to gain a satisfactory answer from perverse and double-dealing Rome. The king should at once submit the question to the learned men of the universities of Europe. "The whole matter," said Cranmer, "is summed up in this: "Can a man marry his brother's widow?" When this suggestion was carried to Henry he was delighted with it and at once sent for Cranmer to become one of his advisers.

From this time forth, the new minister waxed and Wolsey waned. Anne Boleyn became his enemy, for with good reason she suspected him of being secretly opposed to her elevation to the throne of England. It was clear that for many years he had been double in his dealings with his king and the Pope. Suspicion began to mutter in the chamber, the court, the street. At length the displeasure of Henry, who was wont to hold his ministers responsible for the success of what business soever was committed to their charge, grew hot against his favorite, and he sent to him a message demanding the surrender of the great seal of the kingdom. The same was taken away and conferred on Sir Thomas More, while Wolsey was ordered to leave the court and retire to Asher. To the proud spirit of the Cardinal, his fall was like that of Lucifer. He was obliged to see his magnificent palace of York Place seized by the king, who had so long been his indulgent and partial master. Finding himself suddenly stripped of most of his worldly possessions, the fallen minister dismissed his suite; but many of his servants, notably Thomas Cromwell,[1] chose to adhere to the fortunes of him who had always treated them with kindness and liberality.

After Wolsey was thus driven into retirement, he showed himself more worthy of honor than at any previous period of his life. He lived among the subordinate clergy, and demeaned himself in no wise haughtily. But at times, his old love of splendor revived, and flashed out like the fire of a passion. The anger of the king was rekindled against him, and he was arrested under a charge of high treason. It soon became clear that he could not survive the ruin of his fortunes and fame. When the officers came to convey him to the Tower, they found him already sick of anguish and despair. On the third day's journey they reached the abbey of Leicester, where they were obliged to pause with their dying prisoner. To the abbot the broken Wolsey, when entering the gate of the monastery, said: "My father, I am come to lay my bones amongst you." He was borne, with a certain tenderness which Death always demands of those who serve him, to a bed within, and there, on the 29th of November, 1530, he expired.

The consummation of the king's wishes as it respected the divorcement of Catharine and the marriage of Anne Boleyn was still postponed. In 1532 Henry, ever in the prosecution of his purpose, made a second visit to Francis, whose sympathy and aid he now desired to gain. The two monarchs met near Boulogne and entertainments were given by each to the other. At one of these fêtes it was contrived that Anne Boleyn should dance with the French king. The latter was so captivated by her manner that he gave her a splendid jewel as a token of his appreciation, and at the close of the banquet promised Henry to

[1] It is to the faithful Cromwell that the great Cardinal, in the midst of his sore distress and heart-break, pours out his anguish in the oft-quoted paragraph from *Henry the Eighth:*

"Hear me, Cromwell;
And—when I am forgotten, as I shall be;
And sleep in dull cold marble, where no mention
Of me more must be heard of—say, I taught thee,
Say, Wolsey—that once trod the ways of glory,
And sounded all the depths and shoals of honor—
Found thee a way, out of his wreck, to rise in;
A sure and safe one, though thy master miss'd it.
Mark but my fall, and that that ruin'd me.
Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away ambition;
By that sin fell the angels; how can man then,
The image of his Maker, hope to win by it?
Love thyself last; cherish those hearts that hate thee;
Corruption wins not more than honesty.
Still in thy right hand carry gentle peace,
To silence envious tongues. Be just and fear not;
Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,
Thy God's, and truth's; then, if thou fall'st O Cromwell,
Thou fall'st a blessed martyr."
—*King Henry the Eighth, Act III; Scene* 2.

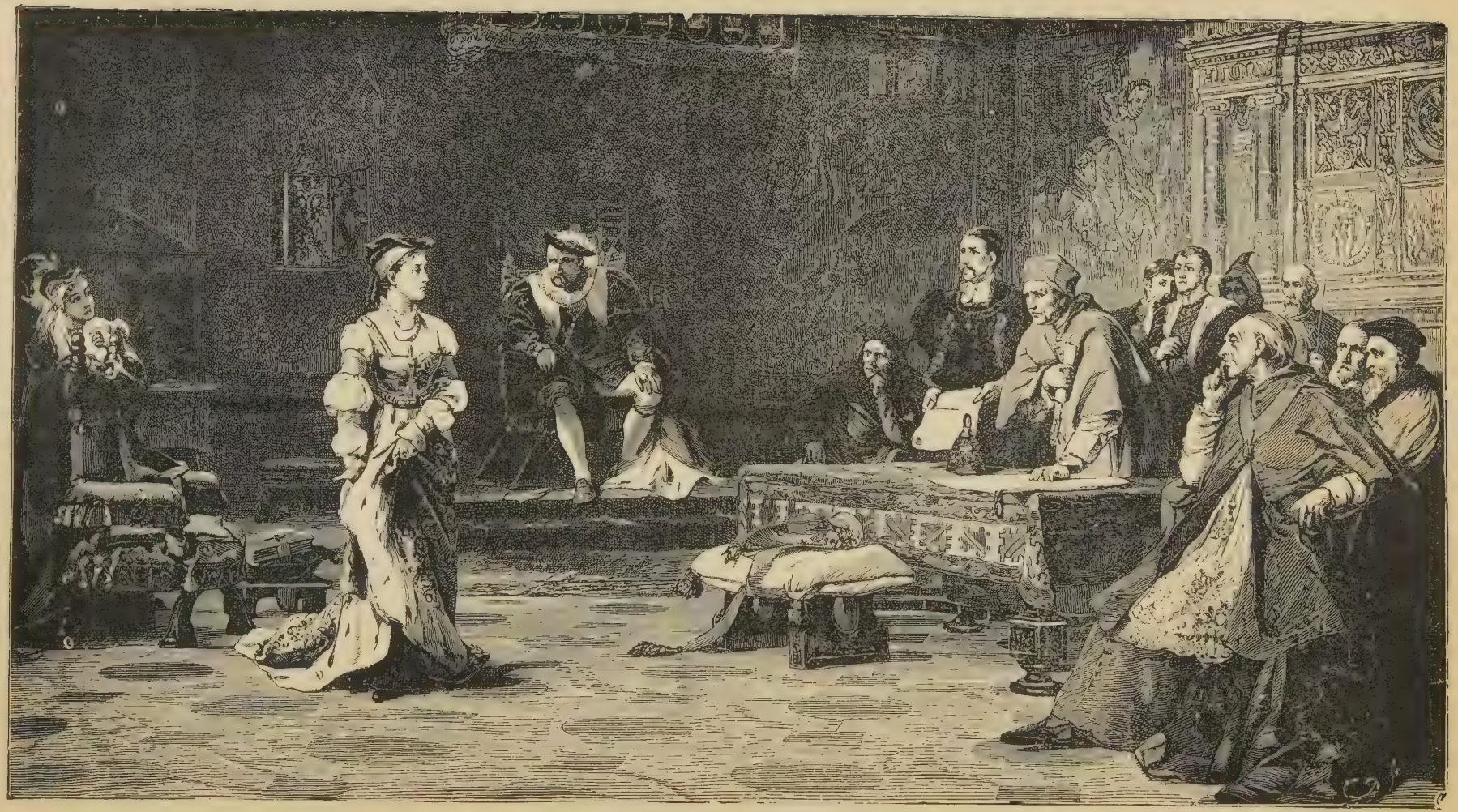
spare no effort to promote his interest in procuring so elegant a lady for his queen. When the English monarch returned to London he resolved to carry out his purpose, the dilatory Church to the contrary notwithstanding. He accordingly had a secret marriage performed with Anne, and then pressed the matter of his divorce from Catharine. In the following year Cranmer was made archbishop of Canterbury, and was ordered to proceed to try the validity of the king's first marriage. An ecclesiastical court was formed at Dunstable, and the cause, after a trial of two weeks' duration, was submitted to the judges. A decision was rendered that the marriage with Catharine had been null and void from the beginning. One of the most serious consequences of the verdict was that the Princess Mary, born to the king and Catharine in 1516, was thus rendered illegitimate. So shocking a consequence might have had some weight in deterring most men from the consummation of a plot against the reputation of their own offspring. But such a motive weighed not a feather with Henry VIII., who, on the whole, may be set down as the most obstinate and willful king that ever sought a hollow excuse for the gratification of his passions.

Within three days after the adjournment of the court at Dunstable, the marriage of Henry and Anne Boleyn was publicly ratified by the coronation of the latter as queen of England. Albeit the discarded Catharine sought by every means in her power to prevent the carrying out of the scheme by which she was dethroned. In vain she pleaded with the king that she had ever been a faithful and dutiful wife. Thus much Henry freely and publicly acknowledged. But his *conscience* would not let him live longer in marital relations with his brother's widow! For the peace of his soul he must put her away. In vain she strove to defend herself before the court. Her cause was predetermined. Finding herself displaced from her royal seat, she retired to the seclusion of Ampthill, near Woburn, and there resided until her death in the year 1536.

Thus, in a passion whim of the English king, was laid the train for another ecclesiastical explosion. It was not to be supposed that Rome would sit by quietly and see her mandates set at naught by the contumacious sovereign of a petty island. Pope Clement was angry and perplexed. For fifteen years the Holy Fathers had already been compelled by the political condition of Europe to suspend their vengeance against the Lutheran heretics. Recently, however, through the mediation of Clement, peace had been concluded between France and Germany. The Emperor had solemnly promised in return for the good offices of the Pope to undertake the extirpation of heresy in the Imperial dominions. Here now was another complication come to vex the spirit and distract the purposes of Rome. And all for the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn! Would that Sir Thomas before her birth had been at the bottom of the English Channel! Every circumstance conspired to make the Emperor a firm supporter of his aunt, the discarded queen of England. Therefore Rome must stand by the Emperor and stand by Catharine and maintain the validity of her marriage, with its corollary, the legitimacy of the Princess Mary. Hence, also, the Church must set her seal of condemnation upon the king's union with Anne Boleyn.

This royal lady within three months after her coronation presented her liege with a daughter, to whom the king, in honor of his mother, gave the name of Elizabeth. An issue was thus squarely made up in the court of destiny. Either, first, Catharine of Aragon was legally married to Henry Tudor, and is now rightfully queen of England, and her daughter Mary legitimate heiress to the crown of that realm; and as a consequence the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn was illegal, and that lady now wears the crown of another and has given to her lord a daughter under the ban of the Church and society: or, secondly, the marriage of Henry with his dead brother's wife was unhallowed and accursed by the canon of holy Church, her wearing of the English crown an affront to sanctity, her daughter born out of wedlock; and inferentially, the marriage of her rival a legitimate transaction, and that rival's daughter the rightful heiress of the crown.

Never was a cause more sharply defined. Rome *must* take one side of the question, and Henry *must* take the other. There was no alternative. It looked from the first like



TRIAL OF CATHARINE.

another disruption of the Church. Here was the English king defying the Pope's authority. Here was Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, constituting an ecclesiastical court and presuming to decide a cause from which even the Pope's great legate, Campeggio, had shrunk with indecision. Meanwhile the triumphant Henry, who had so recently been honored with the title of Defender of the Faith, awaited grimly the action of Rome, and Anne Boleyn, with the little Elizabeth on her knee, sat by his side.

After some hesitation Pope Clement issued a decree declaring the validity of the marriage of Catharine of Aragon with Henry of England. This was like thrusting a pike into the side of a bear. The bear rose in anger and lifted his paw for battle. The English parliament was summoned and a counter decree was passed by that body, declaring the king's supremacy over the Church of England, and annulling the papal authority in the island. It was enacted that all the revenues hitherto paid into the coffers of Rome should be diverted to the royal treasury. By these radical measures the English Church from political considerations having their origin in the personal character and conduct of the king was brought into a conflict as direct, and pronounced as that by which the Church of Germany had been arrayed against Rome. Two years after the issuance of the Pope's decree another parliament passed an act for the disestablishment of the monasteries and nunneries of England; and these institutions to the number of three hundred and seventy-six, together with the enormous properties which had been heaped therein by ages of superstition came under the control of the king. Another act was added by which the English people were required to subscribe a document binding themselves to recognize and observe the former parliamentary edict establishing the king's authority as the head of the Church. A commission was appointed to carry this act to the people and obtain their signatures thereto.

Meanwhile, in 1533, while the question of the king's divorce was still pending, Sir Thomas More, the chancellor of the kingdom, had refused his assent to that measure; in consequence of this he resigned his office and retired to private life in Chelsea. Here in the following year he was found by the commissioners of parliament and required to take an oath to recognize Henry as the head of the Church, and the offspring of Anne Boleyn as heiress apparent to the English throne. This Sir Thomas refused to do. In July of 1535 he was arrested and brought to trial. Being condemned to death he was sent to the Tower to await the day of his execution. No one under such circumstances ever behaved with more heroic dignity. He passed the last night of his life with his family, from whom he parted tenderly, and then prepared himself for the block. When the ax was about to fall he made a sign to the executioner to pause for a moment, while he carefully moved his fine beard to one side, saying, as he did so, "Pity that should be cut; that has not committed treason." Fisher, bishop of Rochester, also refused to sign the parliamentary edict, and like Sir Thomas was sent to the block for his refusal.

Although the king had his will, and the Pope, absorbed with his project of crushing the Lutheran Reformation, seemed unable to prevent the disruption of England, it was not long until the rosy bed of the successful Henry was planted with thorns. For his young queen soon lost his affections and confidence by the same means whereby she had gained them. Her French manners, her accomplishments and wit, were very charming to her royal lover at the first; but when he saw her vivacity freely expended for the enjoyment of others, he was struck with a mortal jealousy. The spirits of Anne, even while the infant Elizabeth was in her arms, ran over with profusion, and it is not unlikely that she found, in the society of the English courtiers, an unwarranted degree of pleasure. It was said that she became unduly intimate with the Lords Brereton and Norris, as well as with Smeaton, the king's musician. Henry first lost all interest in the queen, and then had her arrested on a charge of disloyalty to himself and to womanhood, and confined in the Tower, from which, in May of 1536, she was brought forth to her trial. A commission, headed by her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, was appointed to hear the cause. The fallen queen protested her innocence to the last; but her protestations, supported as

they were by most but not all of the testimony, were of no avail. She was condemned and beheaded, and, as if this were not enough, the infant Elizabeth was declared illegitimate!

Before the axe had fallen on the beauti-

PARTING OF SIR THOMAS MORE AND HIS DAUGHTER.

Drawn by L. P. Leyendecker.

ful neck of Anne Boleyn, Henry had already found a solace for his marital misfortunes in a new warmth which had been kindled in the royal breast by the lady Jane Seymour, daughter of Sir Thomas Seymour, a nobleman of Wiltshire. To her the king was married on the very next day after the beheading of Anne. The new queen's temper, hanging midway between the austerity of Catharine and the lightness of Anne, was well adapted to the difficulties and perils of her situation. It is not the business of History to complicate the annals of the world by the obtrusion into the same of conjectures. History deals not with *if*. Her verbs are in the indicative and mostly in the preterite. Perhaps, *if* Queen Jane had lived, the future conduct of her erratic and willful lord might have been more conformable to the authorized standard of morals and propriety. As it was, she gave birth to a son, and died within a year of her marriage.

Henry had now had sufficient experience not to indulge in unseemly grief for such a trifle as the loss of a wife. He had also come to observe that there are marriages good and marriages bad—some politic and others imprudent. Wherefore, in making his *fourth* selection, he was guided rather by policy than by passion. He was now aided in the choice of a spouse by the great Chancellor Cromwell—that same Thomas Cromwell into whose ears had been poured the dying lamentations of the fallen Wolsey, but now risen, somewhat on the ruins of that dignitary, to a position of the greatest influence.

It was at this juncture that the English Reformation, which had thus far been a *political* movement, began to feel the force of those *moral* causes which had been operative for twenty years in Germany. Cromwell was a veritable Protestant. King Henry had broken with the Pope, and renounced the authority of that potentate, and declared the independence of the English Church, but he still claimed to be a good and loyal Catholic—a better Catholic forsooth than the Pope himself. In order to bring his master over from this way of thinking, and to utilize the rupture between him and Rome, and to turn the same to the general advantage of Protestantism, Cromwell now conceived the design of uniting the king with a *German* princess. He accordingly procured the artist Holbein to paint a portrait of the Duchess Anne of Cleves, and presented the picture to the king. It is not unlikely that the minister and the artist conspired to interpret the princess to the royal eye and imagination in such manner as was most likely to stir his alleged affections. At any rate, the ruse succeeded.

Without waiting for a personal interview the king sent a message to Germany demanding the lady's hand in marriage. She came and was seen. Sight dispelled the illusion. The duchess was so little like the picture that Henry could with difficulty be persuaded to fulfill his contract. Then the further discovery came that the now royal lady was disgracefully ignorant and devoid of manners. What should Henry VIII., who knew not German, who from childhood had sunned himself in the splendor of a rather magnificent court, who had enjoyed the society of the accomplished and vivacious Anne Boleyn, do with this somber and stupid creature whom Cromwell had imposed upon him? The Chancellor soon found that to perpetrate a fraud on Henry Tudor was a business more perilous than profitable. Upon him the anger of the disgusted king first fell with terrible weight. Cromwell was arrested, charged with disloyalty to his master, tried, condemned, and beheaded. Parliament was then summoned and the proposition for another divorce laid before the body. Nor was there any difficulty in procuring a decree by which the recent marriage was annulled. The edict contained a clause giving to both the king and queen the right to marry again—a privilege of which he rather than she was likely to take an early advantage.

The great space of two weeks, however, was permitted to elapse before the king was sufficiently in love to take another wife. But after a fortnight he saw and was enamored of the lady Catharine Howard, niece of the Duke of Norfolk. The new favorite was immediately brought to court and wedded to the king. Almost immediately, however, he discovered that his choice had been made with more haste than discretion. The conduct and character of the new queen were found to be so disgraceful as really in this instance to justify the course

of the king in thrusting her from him. His anger stopped not with the project of divorce, but was kindled against the life of the sinful Catharine. She was arrested and condemned, and on the 12th of February, 1542, was sent to the same fate which the more virtuous Anne Boleyn had met six years before.

In the next year, Henry for the *sixth* time sought happiness by wedlock. His ardor was now somewhat cooled, and appears to have waited on his judgment. After some deliberation he chose for his queen the lady Catharine Parr, widow of Lord Latimer. Like Jane Seymour, the new spouse was a woman of discretion and character. She obtained and held an ascendency over the king's mind, and an influence in his counsels during the remaining four years of his life.

More important than the marital infelicities of this royal personage were the movements which meanwhile had taken place in the kingdom.

The abolition of the monasteries and the consequent dispersion of the monks created a serious disturbance in different parts of the realm. In 1534 a certain Elizabeth Barton, known as the Maid of Kent, pretending to receive revelations from heaven, stirred up a revolt in her native country. Hardly had the insurrection been quelled when two others in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire broke out, and were only suppressed after considerable loss of life. Of course these revolts were in the interest of the papacy, and in their suppression the king was obliged to play the part of a Protestant. His open rupture with Rome led at length to an alliance between himself and the Protestant princes of Germany; but their purposes being to reform the religion of Europe and his merely to humiliate the Pope and weaken the influence of the Emperor, the Anglo-German alliance soon came to naught.

Meanwhile the Pope put forth his utmost endeavors to bring Henry and his kingdom to shame. A legate, the Cardinal de la Pole, was sent into England for the express purpose of stirring up discord and inciting rebellions. The baseness of this proceeding was increased by the fact that the Cardinal was second cousin to the king, and had been educated at his expense. A kind of treasonable correspondence was established between the papal malcontents in England and their allies on the continent. But the danger of such business proved to be greater than its profit. Henry VIII. was as able in all respects as he was unscrupulous in many, and woe to the conspirator who had the misfortune to fall into his power. Pole kept himself carefully in a safe retreat in Flanders, but his two brothers were taken in England, condemned and executed. Even the Cardinal's mother, the aged Countess of Salisbury, and last representative of the great family of Plantagenet, was put to death; for she had received a letter from her son!

The revolts which had been stirred up by the monks, expelled from their old rookeries in the monasteries, had so embittered the king that he now determined to exterminate monasticism by suppressing the remaining religious houses in the kingdom, and turning their revenues into the royal treasury. The decree of 1536, by which three hundred and seventy-six of the monasteries had been disestablished, was leveled against the smaller institutions only. The king now decided to attack the larger as well. In 1539 the parliament, in conformity with Henry's wishes, passed an edict against all the monasteries and nunneries of England. In vain did the friars and their supporters of the papal party endeavor to retain their hold upon their vast accumulations. Whenever the king felt the need of additional authority, a pliant parliament would pass the required decree. The royal prerogatives rose from stage to stage, from one arbitrary measure to another, until at last, in 1545, an edict was passed by which Henry was empowered to seize the revenues of the university. This act, however, was never carried into effect; but its non-execution is attributed rather to the good sense and moderation of Queen Catharine Parr than to any forbearance on the part of the king.

Before the unfulfilled measure last referred to, namely, in 1541, Henry had gratified his passion for royal meetings by the project of an interview with his nephew, James V., of Scotland. Elaborate preparations were made for the repetition at York of such scenes as the king and Francis had witnessed at Calais in the heyday of their youth. When the appointed time arrived, Henry and his court repaired to the place of meeting. But the king

of the Scots came not. It soon transpired that the Scottish clergy, already betraying that disposition to meddle in the affairs of state for which they were ever afterward proverbial, had persuaded their king to have nothing to do with such a heretic and social monster as Henry of England. Learning of the cause of the facts in the premises, the English king became so enraged that he declared war against his nephew. Scotland was invaded by a royal army, and the forces of James V. were met and overwhelmingly defeated in the battle of Solway Moss. The disaster was so great and the nature of James so sensitive to the shock that he sank down under his grief at the calamity which had befallen the kingdom, and died in December of 1542. His death reduced the House of Stuart almost to extinction; for the hopes of the dynasty now fluttered on the rapid breath of the baby princess, afterwards Mary Qeeen of Scots, who was but seven days old when her father expired,

As soon as Henry learned that his nephew was dead, he laid a plan for the union of the two kingdoms by the betrothal of his son Edward and the little princess, Mary. This measure, however, was resisted by the Scots, who were desirous of maintaining their independence. Neither by force nor artifice could he succeed in bringing them to his way of thinking.

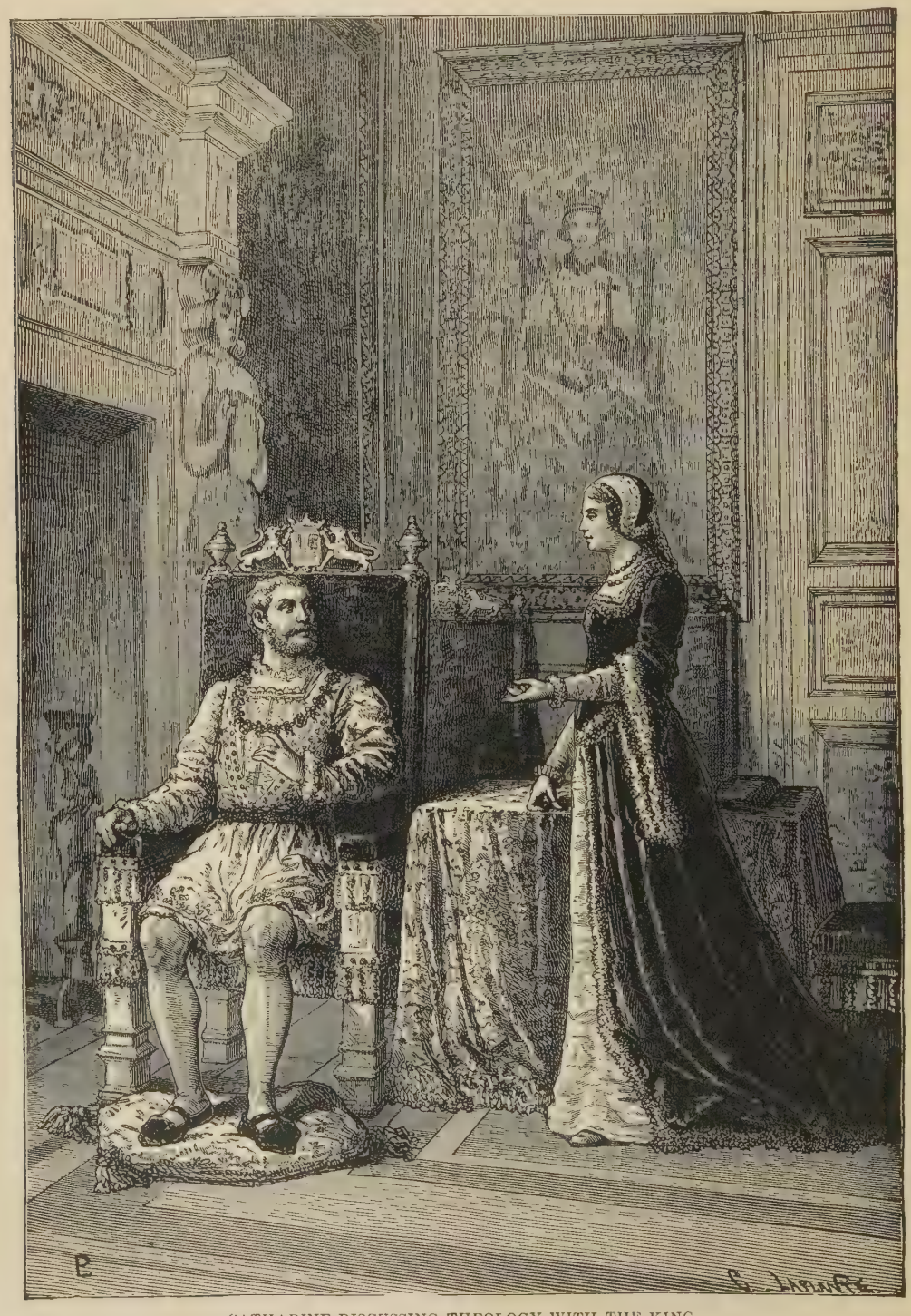
In the course of time peace was concluded between England and the Empire; but the reconciliation between Henry and Charles, merely glossed over their long-standing enmity. The settlement which they effected embraced the project of an invasion of France. Armies were raised in both countries, and the king and the Emperor joined each other with their forces near Calais. The invasion had not proceeded far, however, until Francis made overtures of peace. In the business that ensued, the blunt and half-honest Henry was completely overreached. The Dominican friar who was sent by Francis to negotiate with the allied monarchs, managed to conclude a separate peace with the Emperor, who withdrew his army and left his *friend*, the king, to make what terms he could with the crafty Francis. Henry was obliged to content himself with the possession of Boulogne, which he had taken from the French. Two years afterwards, namely, in 1546, peace was made between France and England. It was agreed that Boulogne should remain in the hands of the English for the space of eight years, and should then revert on the payment of a ransom.

Henry VIII. had now grown old and corpulent and ill-tempered. Nothing pleased him any more. In his dotage he returned to the study of those theological questions to which some of his earlier years had been devoted. His disposition became more and more distempered, and his tyranny over the people more capricious and intolerable. He spent his time in devising some cruel exaction and discussing with the queen some of the insoluble dogmas of the Church. The suspicion might well be entertained that he sought to entangle her in the meshes of some net in which she might be dragged to condemnation. But she proved equal to the perversity of her cross old lord, and opposed to him only her patience. Only on a single occasion—such is the tradition of these disputes—did she forget herself and speak with undue warmth, and for this she narrowly escaped being brought to trial.

As for others less discreet, they suffered the full penalty of their opposition. The Duke of Norfolk and his son, Lord Surrey, fell under the tyrant's displeasure and were imprisoned in the Tower. Both by their accomplishments, talents, and loyalty had won the favor of the English people, and the father had been regarded as one of the king's favorites, even since the first years of his reign. Their offense now consisted in the fact that they were Catholics and might for that reason be suspected of opposition to young Edward, Prince of Wales, whom the king had named as his successor. Already the Princess Mary, daughter of Catharine of Aragon, was looked to as the representative of the Catholic interest in England. There was, however, no evidence that the noblemen in prison had been guilty of any disloyal act. The worst charges which could be brought against Lord Surrey were that he spoke Italian, and that *for that reason* he was *probably* a correspondent of Cardinal de la Pole! This was deemed sufficient. He was condemned and executed in January of 1547. Before the close of the month his father was also condemned; but He who knocks with impartial summons at the peasant's hut and the palace of the king was come. Before the day

for the execution of Norfolk arrived the wheezing, dropsical, and relentless old despot who for nearly thirty-eight years had occupied the throne of England, expired with his crimes unfinished. The Duke of Norfolk thus escaped the block.

So far as his abilities extended Henry provided for the succession. He established the



CATHARINE DISCUSSING THEOLOGY WITH THE KING.
Drawn by L. P. Leyendecker.

same to his son Edward. His two daughters had both been declared illegitimate, himself a party to the declaration. Nevertheless he provided in his will that in case of the death without heirs of Edward the crown should descend first to Mary and then to Elizabeth. He further provided that in case of the death without heirs of all three of his children (which very thing was destined to occur) then the succession should be to the heirs of his younger sister, the Duchess of Brandon, to the exclusion of the heirs of his elder sister Margaret, the queen of Scotland. The latter, after the death of her husband, James IV., had been married to the Earl of Angus. The daughter born of this union became the mother of that Lord Henry Darnley who played such a conspicuous part in the after history of Scotland.

So far as the religious history of England is concerned, the great fact belonging to the reign of Henry VIII. was the rupture with Rome and the consequent establishment of the English Church. It will readily be perceived that the so-called Reformation in England consisted chiefly in the organic separation from the mother Church. True it is that the real Reformers, the followers of Wickliffe, were all the time at work; but it is also true that these progressive spirits were opposed and persecuted by the king and his government. The Lollards were the special objects of his displeasure. Against them in the early part of his reign some of his most tyrannical measures were adopted. In later years, however, when his antagonism to Rome became more pronounced and bitter, and the political necessities of his situation drew him into a natural union with all Rome's enemies, his rigor towards the real Protestants relaxed. Still Henry was by nature a persecutor and bigot. He caused many persons to be burned for heresy; and in general it may be said as summing up the results of his policy that the evils of his reign were intended and the good accidental. If he commanded the Church service to be given in English it was because the monks preferred Latin. If he permitted the translation of the Bible it was because the Pope forbade the work. If the actual Reformation gained ground during his reign it was against his wishes and brought about through the agency of Cranmer, who was sincere in favoring a cause which Henry espoused only through spite and through hatred of the cause opposed.

After the ten years' truce, established in 1538, France enjoyed a brief interval of peace. The first subsequent disturbance occurred when the Emperor Charles, desiring to make his way from Spain to the Netherlands, sought and obtained the privilege of going thither through the kingdom of Francis. In return for this favor, the Emperor agreed to reward the French king by restoring to him the province of Milan. But, after having passed safely through France to the Low Countries, Charles neglected and refused to fulfill his bargain. War was accordingly renewed in 1542. It was in the progress of this struggle that Henry VIII. espoused the Imperial cause, and joined his armies with those of the Empire in the invasion of France. How the wily Francis managed to break up the league of his enemies, and to conclude a separate peace with the Emperor, leaving the blatant Henry without support at Boulogne, has already been narrated. For several years a desultory and indecisive conflict was kept up between the armies of France and England; but in the summer of 1546 a treaty was concluded, by the terms of which Henry, after the space of eight years, was to surrender Boulogne, and to receive therefor, during the *interim*, an annual stipend of a hundred thousand crowns.

Neither of the high contracting parties was destined to see the fulfillment of the contract. In January of the following year, Henry paid the debt of nature, and, in the following March, Francis, who had long suffered in the consuming fires of a fever which had rendered his temper and conduct intolerable, ended his checkered career. Of the great trio, who for more than a quarter of a century in one of the most stirring epochs in the history of the world had divided the principal European kingdoms among themselves, only the Emperor Charles remained to complete the drama in monologue. That monarch had still eleven years of vitality in which to carry out his project for the religious pacification of Europe, and the establishment of a universal empire.

None ever was doomed to greater disap-

pointment than he. After the death of Luther, the Council of Trent fell under the control of the Italian and Spanish prelates, and they in their turn being directed by the Pope passed a declaration that the traditions of the Holy Catholic Church were of equal authority with the Bible. Such an edict made reconciliation with the Protestants impossible. It was against this very doctrine that Luther had thundered his denunciations; but the declaration of the council was to the Pope and Emperor most palatable. The latter now prepared to suppress the great German

CHARLES V.

heresy by force. Before he could do so, however, it was necessary that he should break the power and disrupt the organization of the Smalcaldic League. The army of this union now numbered about forty thousand men. At the juncture of which we speak, Charles was at Ratisbon with a small force of Spanish soldiers. He had ordered two other armies, one from Flanders and the other from Italy, to join him, but neither had arrived. Nor is it improbable that, if the chiefs of the Smalcaldic League had been in harmony, and had acted in proper concert, the haughty monarch might have been humbled and driven from the country. But Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse, less able in the field than in the council, withheld their consent that Schertlin, the general of the league, should fall upon the Emperor.

The opportunity was lost. The Imperial reïnforcements joined the forces of Charles, and he made ready for battle. Just as hostilities were about to begin, Duke Maurice of Saxony renounced the Protestant faith, seized the Saxon electorate, and went over to the Emperor. Presently afterwards, his cousin, John Frederick, to whom the territory rightfully belonged, raised an army, drove Maurice out of the disputed country, but was unable to hold it against the forces of Charles. So serious was the shock occasioned by this defection, that Duke Ulric of Würtemberg followed the example and submitted to Charles. The Free cities of Ulm, Augsburg, Strasburg, and several others, were drawn in the wake, and Schertlin's forces were so reduced in numbers as to be unable to offer any serious resistance to the progress of the Imperial troops. All of Southern Germany was presently overrun, and Catholic authority was restored without a serious conflict.

While Henry VIII. lay dying at Whitehall, and Francis I. was tossing with his fever in Versailles, Charles V., victorious in the South, was preparing for an invasion of Northern Germany. Marching thither, in the spring of 1547, he met and defeated the army of John Frederick of Saxony at Mühlberg on the Elbe. The elector himself, who was so enormously corpulent that he had to mount his horse by means of a ladder, was easily run down and captured by the Imperial cavalry. The full-grown bigot, who for many years had sat silent in the breast of Charles V., now uttered his voice. A court was constituted to try John Frederick for his heresy and other crimes. At the head of this court was set the famous, or rather infamous, Fernando Alvarez, Duke of Alva, one of the most cruel and bloody-minded of the many criminals of that description bred and turned loose upon Europe in the early part of the sixteenth century. A soldier from his boyhood, a hater of Infidels, descended from Palæologus—one of the Emperors of Constantinople—trained in the worst

school of a bigoted Church, exemplar of the worst vices of his times, he now, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, came upon the stage in his true character, and began to dabble his sleek white hands in the blood of the innocent.

John Frederick was condemned to death, and but for the solemn protest of the other German princes the sentence would have been carried into speedy execution. As it was, his Saxon territories were stripped away, and given to the religious turn-coat, Maurice of Saxony. Frederick remained true to his convictions, went to prison, and there passed the remaining five years of his life. Like many another hero of his type, he had a wife of the same mettle with himself. When the Imperial army approached Wittenberg, she assumed the defense of her husband's capital, and only surrendered when compelled to yield by overwhelming numbers. On gaining possession of the city, the Duke of Alva urged the Emperor to burn the remains of Luther and scatter the ashes to the winds. The answer of Charles was of a sort in some measure to redeem his forfeited fame: "I wage no war against the dead."

It was now apparent that no prince of the League would be able to stay the progress of the Imperial arms. The next to fall before the storm was Philip of Hesse. This personage, sincere in his Protestantism, was thrifty in his politics. He earnestly sought a reconciliation with the Emperor, and expressed by word and conduct his willingness to gain that monarch's favor by heavy sacrifices and great concessions. Charles stated the conditions to be the destruction of all the Hessian fortresses excepting Cassel, the payment of a fine of a hundred and fifty thousand florins of gold, and a petition for pardon, sought by Philip on his knees. To all of this the Landgrave consented. But, when it came to begging the Emperor's pardon, the suppliant, a shrewd man of the world, had the misfortune to smile while performing the ridiculous ceremony. Hereupon, the Emperor fell into a passion. "I'll teach you to laugh," said he. True to his broken word, he ordered Philip to be seized and sent to prison. And years elapsed before the unfortunate duke escaped from confinement.

In this conquest of Germany Charles V. acted after the manner of a foreign invader. True, he was the son of Philip and the grandson of Maximilian, a *German* Emperor almost by birth, and altogether by the voice of the Imperial electors; but his education and disposition alike were essentially Spanish, and he appears to have regarded his own paternal dominions as an ignoble and heretical land, very fit for conquest and spoliation. There now remained between him and the complete mastery of Northern as well as Southern Germany only the Protestant city of Magdeburg. The reduction of this stronghold was intrusted to Maurice of Saxony, and the Emperor retired into Bavaria. On his way through the country his Spanish soldiers were loosed to have their will on the suffering people, whom they insulted and robbed till their appetite was satiated. It became a bitter reflection with the German princess, Catholic as many of them were, that they themselves by their votes had elevated to power the monstrous tyrant who now gloried in despoiling his own land and wasting her cities with fire and sword.

Having at length satisfied himself with the reduction of Germany, the Emperor, in 1548, published a decree known as the *Augsburg Interim* in which the Protestants were granted the lay communion in both bread and wine. Their priests were permitted to marry, but the remaining doctrines and forms of the Catholic Church were to be observed by all until what time the tedious council of Trent, now removed to Bologna, should render its decisions. After three years that body of prelates again assembled at the place of first convention, and it was clear that many of the members under the inspiration of the Emperor himself were sincerely anxious to effect an accommodation with the Protestants. But Pope Julius III., who, in the preceding year, namely, in 1550, had succeeded Paul III. in the papacy, rallied the Spanish and Italian cardinals and bishops, and thus maintained the ascendency of the will and purpose of Rome.

While the Emperor was thus baffled by the council, he had the mortification to see his Augsburg Interim rejected by both Catholics and Protestants. By the former it was declared infamous to make any concession to the German race of heretics, and by the latter the concessions made in the Emperor's proclamation were regarded as few, feeble and insuffi-

cient. In the midst of his perplexities, Charles appears to have begun to despair of the virtue of human affairs and the merit of Imperial rank. His desires were now turned to the question of the succession. He became anxious that the crown of the Empire should descend to his son Philip. More than twenty years previously, namely, in 1530, his brother Ferdinand had been elected king of Germany, and this election was regarded as foreshadowing a succession to the Imperial crown in the event of Charles's death. True it was that the electoral princes, several of whom had been Protestants, were now reduced to so degraded

PRINCE MAURICE.

a position as to be ill able to resist the Emperor's purpose, but it was clear that in so doing they would receive the support of Ferdinand.

What the event might have been it were vain to conjecture. Before the issue could be made up and decided by a Diet, such startling news was carried to the Emperor's ears as drove out his current purpose and demanded all his energies. The news was from Magdeburg. Against that city the Prince Maurice had led the Imperial army. But the Protestant authorities within the walls had made all proper measures for defense. The place was provisioned and garrisoned as if for an endless siege. When Maurice arrived and summoned the city to surrender, he was answered with contempt. To every demand the same answer was returned. Nor did the prince's threats avail more than his persuasions. The citizens hurled at him the epithet of "Traitor!" And traitor he was; for he had betrayed the Protestanism of Germany into the hands of Rome and her servants.

These upbraidings and the consciousness of his base attitude toward his country, soon told on the nature of Maurice. He already had a deep-seated cause of offense at the hands of the Emperor, for that monarch had sent Philip of Hesse, father-in-law of Maurice, to prison *for smiling!* and in prison he still lay in ignominy and shame. Here were the materials for a *second* revolution in the politics and religion of Maurice. First a Protestant, then a Catholic, he now conceived the design of going back to the cause and profession of Protestantism, and of carrying with him so much of the Imperial resources as should make the cold heart of Charles shudder with alarm, and the very foundations of the Empire tremble.

The event was equal to the plan. With complete reticence Maurice executed his purposes. He entered into a treaty with Henry II., son and successor of Francis I., of France, to whom he promised the province of Lorraine with the cities of Toul, Verdun, and Metz, in return for his assistance against the Empire. Having completed his plan, he suddenly, in the spring of 1552, raised the siege of Metz, wheeled about and marched with all speed against Charles, who, apprehending no danger, had established his court at Innsbruck. Strange was the spectacle which was now presented. The Emperor instantly divined that his only hope of safety lay in flight. Not a moment was to be lost in extricating himself from the German snare. Maurice had seized the mountain passes, and nothing remained for Charles but the perils of the Alps. With only a few followers he fled from Innsbruck, and through the desolations of a storm by night made his way into the mountains. The silent Nemesis had suddenly risen in specter-like majesty and marshaled him out of sight. The genius of terror was loosed in Catholic Germany. The Council of Trent broke up and fled, and John Frederick and Philip of Hesse came forth from prison. Never was a

revolution more complete, sudden, and overwhelming. The Protestant cause suddenly rose like a prostrate giant from the dust, and the papal faction shrank into the shadows.

It will be remembered that the Emperor, by his scheme to set up his son Philip as his successor, had aroused the antagonism of King Ferdinand. The latter now gladly coöperated with Maurice in finishing the work which the Saxon prince by his great defection had so well begun. The two leaders, acting in conjunction, now convoked a German Diet at Passau. So tremendous had been the revulsion in public opinion, and so complete the change in the aspect of affairs that the bishops as well as the secular princes who attended the Diet were constrained to admit that the suppression of Protestantism by force was an impossibility. Thus much being admitted the conclusion of a peace was easy. Neither the Pope nor the council was any longer deferred to by the electors, who were set in their purpose to make an end of the religious conflicts of Germany. The *Treaty of Passau* was accordingly concluded. The basis of the settlement was the Augsburg Confession of Faith. Whoever accepted the articles of that creed should no more be disturbed in his theory and practice of worship. All minor questions were referred for decision to a subsequent Diet.

Before this action of the German electors the great schemes of Charles V. melted into vapor. At first he refused to sign the treaty, but he was no longer master of the situation. The Protestant leaders increased their armies and prepared to renew the war. The Crescent of Islam again rose above the Hungarian horizon. With a determination worthy of a better cause the Emperor, now safe in his Spanish dominions, organized his forces and sought to recover his lost ascendency. Before the close of the year 1552 he advanced into Lorraine and laid siege to Metz. But a paralysis fell upon all his movements. Pestilence broke out in the camp, and the rigors of winter increased the hardships of the Imperialists. At length the siege was abandoned, and the war was transferred to other quarters. It was clear that the power of the Empire in Germany was broken forever. The struggle was continued in a desultory way by certain of the Catholic princes, but with no prospect of ultimate success. Thus did Albert of Brandenburg, who in a spirit of wantonness and destruction made an expedition into Saxony and Franconia, marking his way with burning and slaughter. In July of 1553 his career was suddenly checked by Maurice of Saxony, who met and defeated him in the decisive battle of Sivershausen. In the moment of victory, however, Maurice, who had performed so masterly a part in the drama of his times, received a mortal wound, from which he died two days after the battle.

The overthrow of his ablest supporter at Sivershausen brought new discouragement to the Emperor. He saw his Imperial star sinking to the horizon. It appeared, no doubt, to his despotic imagination that the fabric of the world was going to wreck around him. He gave up Germany to her fate. He agreed that his brother Ferdinand should convene the Diet provided for by the treaty of Passau. Accordingly, in September of 1555, that body assembled in Augsburg.

In the mean time Popes Julius and Marcellinus had been looking on from the Eternal City with feelings of mortal dread and sentiments of unquenchable anger. When the Diet convened at Augsburg the papal legate was present trying in vain to reverse the logic of events and to send the half-liberated world back to its old slavery. But the effort could not succeed. The morning of the New Era had really dawned. A *Religious Peace* was concluded which was now more than a name. Freedom of worship and equality of rights before the law were freely and fully granted. And the Church property which had followed the Protestant revolt was retained by the adherents of the new religion. It was provided, however, that if any Catholic abbot or bishop should henceforth renounce the ancient faith in favor of the reformed doctrine the estates which he controlled should remain to the Mother Church.

It is to modern times and will ever remain a matter of surprise, that even in this rather liberal settlement of the religious troubles in Germany the principles of a *true reform*, of a genuine emancipation of the human mind and conscience, were still unrecognized. A clause was put into the treaty, that the people should not change their faith until *the prince had first*

changed his! Thus, in substance, was reasserted by the Reformers themselves that very doctrine which they had renounced at the outset as unbiblical and opposed to reason. As a matter of fact, under the rule adopted, the people of the Palatinate of the Rhine were, in the age following the Diet of 1555, obliged to change their faith *four times* from Catholic to Protestant, and back again, in a vain endeavor to conform to the beliefs of their successive rulers!

EXECUTION OF HERETICS—SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Such facts as these may well lead us to inquire for a moment into the true nature of the Reformation. The trouble with the Reform party of the sixteenth century was that it proceeded unconsciously under *one* principle of action, and openly avowed *another*. One motive was, so to speak, hidden in the breast of the movement, and another was given forth as the reason of the insurrection. In *fact*, the Reformation tended to one result; in its avowed *principles*, to another. The Reformers said that they set themselves against the authority of the Church only because that authority had become abusive. They admitted the *principle* of authority almost as absolutely as the Mother Church herself. They claimed to fight against the *abuses* of authority only. But in *fact* the movement was against the *principle* of authority. Thus the Reformers were soon obliged to disown the logical results of their own work. The actual tendency was to emancipate men from ecclesiastical and dogmatic thralldom; but this the Reformers durst not allow. They were afraid to admit the doctrine of religious freedom. They denied that their labors were to that end. They affirmed that their work was to substitute a legitimate for an illegitimate authority in the Church. But what was a legitimate authority? Should

the Church decide that question for herself? If so, that was what Rome had said from the beginning, and Protestantism was already on the high road to run the same career as Catholicism had run, and to arrive at the same miserable end. For, suppose that the Church had declared her authority, and the individual judgment and conscience rejected the decision, what then? Would Protestantism punish and persecute the heretical? Her avowed principles declared that she must, and her practice soon showed that she would. And for more than three centuries the fatal results of this false assumption of authority, which in the very nature of a genuine Protestantism can not exist, has distilled its deadly dews in the world.

As a result of this misapprehension or cowardice on the part of the Reformers, the new churches which they established in those countries, that fell under their religious sway, became as abusive as the Mother Church had been before them. True it is that, in a certain moral purity—a certain inner cleanness of the organization—the New Church was better than the Old, but her practices were equally abusive, and her logic worse; worse, because she could adduce in justification of her conduct no major premise which had not belonged to Rome for centuries. So when Protestantism, coming into the ascendency in Germany, Switzerland, and England, began to commit, in the name of religion, the very crimes of which Catholicism had been guilty, and to justify them by the same arguments, it was not wonderful that sarcastic Rome turned upon her rival a withering glance. No better summary has ever been presented of the whole situation than that given by the candid and sober-minded Guizot:

"What," says he, "are the reproaches constantly applied to the Reformation by its enemies? Which of its results are thrown in its face, as it were, as unanswerable?

"The two principal reproaches are, first, the multiplicity of sects, the excessive license of thought, the destruction of all spiritual authority, and the entire dissolution of religious society; secondly, tyranny and persecution. 'You provoke licentiousness,' it has been said to the Reformers—'you produced it; and, after having been the cause of it, you wish to restrain and repress it. And how do you repress it? By the most harsh and violent means. You take upon yourselves, too, to punish heresy, and that by virtue of an illegitimate authority.'

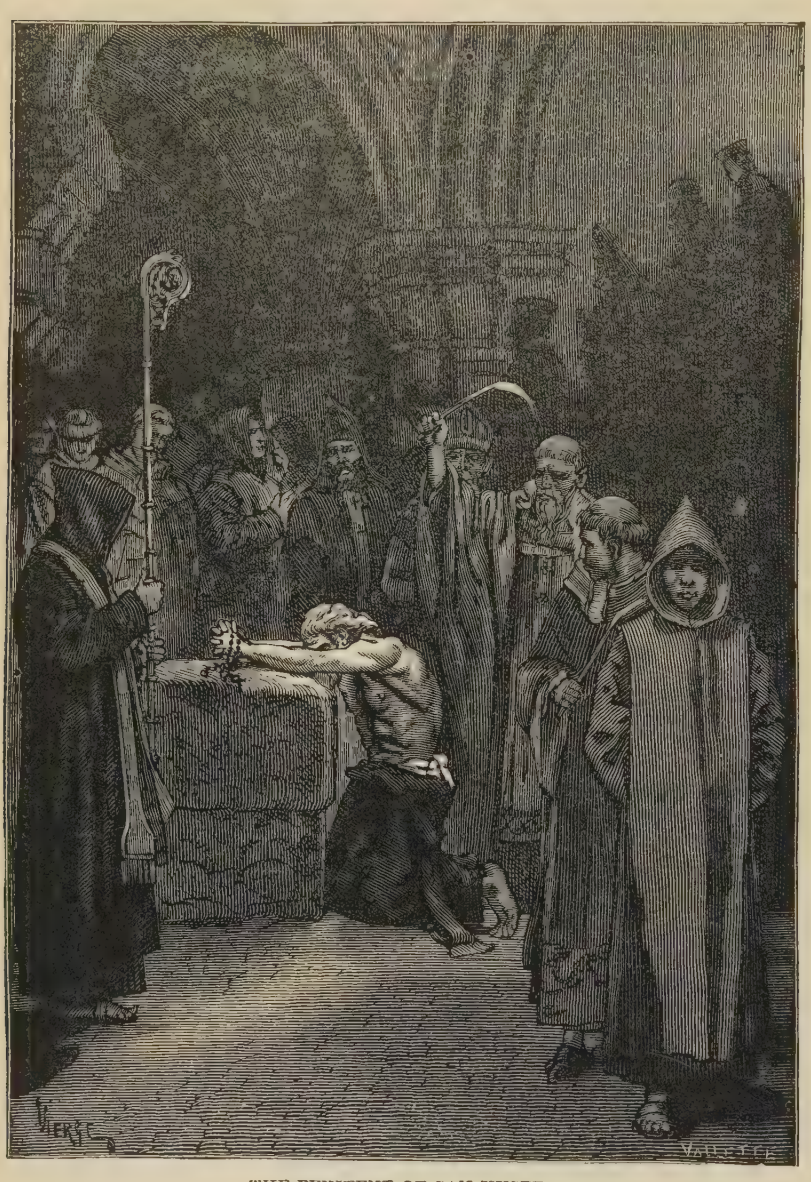
"If we take a review of all the principal charges which have been made against the Reformation, we shall find, if we set aside all questions purely doctrinal, that the above are the two fundamental reproaches to which they may all be reduced.

"These charges gave great embarrassment to the Reform party. When they were taxed with the multiplicity of their sects, instead of advocating the freedom of religious opinion, and maintaining the right of every sect to entire toleration, they denounced Sectarianism, lamented it, and endeavored to find excuses for its existence. Were they accused of persecution? They were troubled to defend themselves; they used the plea of necessity; they had, they said, the right to repress and punish error, because they were in possession of the truth. Their articles of belief, they contended, and their institutions, were the only legitimate ones; and, if the Church of Rome had not the right to punish the Reformed party, it was because she was in the wrong and they in the right.

"And when the charge of persecution was applied to the ruling party in the Reformation, not by its enemies, but by its own offspring; when the sects denounced by that party said: 'We are doing just what you did; we separate ourselves from you, just as you separated yourselves from the Church of Rome'—this ruling party were still more at a loss to find an answer, and frequently the only answer they had to give was an increase of severity.

"The truth is, that while laboring for the destruction of absolute power in the spiritual order, the religious revolution of the sixteenth century was not aware of the true principles of intellectual liberty. It emancipated the human mind, and yet pretended still to govern it by laws. In point of *fact* it produced the prevalence of free inquiry; in point of *principle* it believed that it was substituting a legitimate for an illegitimate power. It had not looked up to the primary motive, nor down to the ultimate consequences of its own work. It thus fell into a double error. On the one

side it did not know or respect all the rights of human thought; at the very moment that it was demanding these rights for itself, it was violating them towards others. On the other side, it was unable to estimate the rights of lectual society, and to the regular action of old and regular opinions. What is due to and required by traditional belief has not been reconciled with what is due to and required by freedom of thinking; and the cause of this undoubtedly is that the Reformation did not fully comprehend and accept its own principles and results."



THE PENITENT OF SAN YUSTE.
Drawn by Vierge.

The Treaty of Augsburg ended for a while the religious war. The two prodigious schemes of Emperor Charles to restore the union of christendom under the Pope, and to make himself the secular head of Europe, had dropped into dust and ashes. A correct picture of the workings of the mind of this cold and calculating genius, as it turned in despair from the wreck of its dreams, would be one of the most instructive outlines of human ambition, folly, and disappointment ever drawn for the contemplation of men. Seeing the Treaty of Augsburg an accomplished fact, the Emperor determined *to abdicate!* Precisely a month after the conclusion of the peace he published an edict conferring on his son Philip II. the kingdom of the Netherlands. On the 15th of the following January he resigned to him also the crowns of Spain, Naples, and the Indies. Then taking ship for the Spanish dominions, he left the world behind him and as soon as possible sought refuge from the recol-

uthority in matters of reason. I do not speak of that coërcive authority which ought to have no rights at all in such matters, but of that kind of authority which is purely moral and acts solely by its influence upon the mind. In most reformed countries something is wanting to complete the proper organization of intel-

lection of his own glory and vanished hopes in the monastery of San Yuste. Here he passed the remaining two years of his life as a sort of Imperial monk, taking part with the brothers in their daily service, working in the gardens, submitting to flagellation, watching the growth of his trees, and occasionally corresponding with the dignitaries of the outside world.

Sometimes he amused himself with trifles. He was something of a mechanician, and spent hours, days, and weeks in the attempt to regulate two clocks so that they should keep precisely the same time. "What a fool I have been!" was his comment. "I have spent all my life in trying to make men go together, and here I can not succeed even with two pieces of dumb machinery!" As he felt his end approaching, he became possessed of the grotesque notion of witnessing *his own funeral!* He accordingly had all the preparations made for that event, and the ceremony carefully rehearsed, himself taking part, joining in the chant of the requiem, and having himself properly adjusted in the coffin. A short time afterwards, namely, on the 21st of September, 1558, the rehearsal became an actual drama, and the principal personage did *not* join in the requiem. For he had gone to that land where the voice of ambition could no more provoke to action,

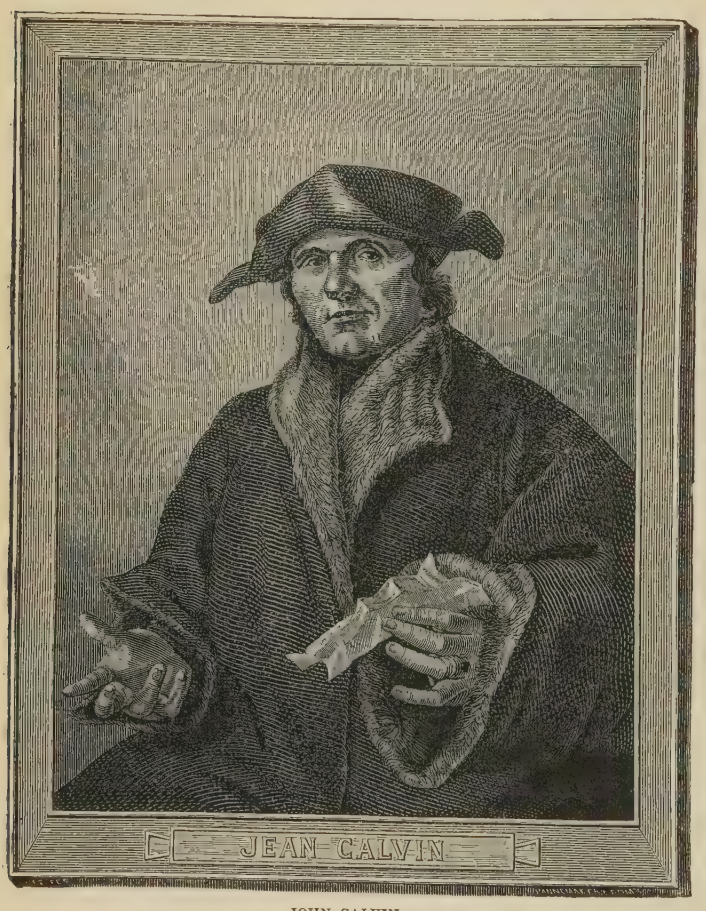
"Or flattery soothe the dull, cold ear of death."

The present chapter may well be concluded with a few paragraphs on the progress of the Reformation in Switzerland, and the founding and development of the Order of the Jesuits.

ZWINGLI'S DEATH AT KAPPEL.
Drawn by Weekener.

The first of these events is intimately associated with the life and teachings of JOHN CALVIN, who has perhaps contributed more than any other one man to the Protestant theology of the world. After the death of Zwingli on the field of Kappel, in 1531, the direction of Swiss Protestantism had been assumed by William Farel, a French reformer from Dauphiney. In 1535 the reformed service was adopted at Geneva. After this the city became for a season a kind of Gog and Magog of religions. At no other place in Europe did the license of religious opinion run into such excesses.

From the first, the leading Genevese reformers adopted a code and creed of the greatest severity. For a while the fanatics who were going to bring in the millennium by the suppression of all worldly pleasure were in the minority. Such was the condition of affairs when, in August of 1536, John Calvin arrived at the city which was to be his home for the remainder of his life. Farel at once sought his aid; but at first the austere theologian withheld his sympathy. Thereupon the irate Farel proceeded to call down the malediction of heaven upon the recusant. Calvin at length yielded to the appeal, took up his residence at Geneva and began to preach and to teach. He had already published his *Institutes of Theology*, in which the doctrines and beliefs of Protestantism were formulated into a system. In the year following his arrival at the city of his adoption, he brought out his *Catechism*, presenting a summary of the principles elaborated in the *Institutes*. In the next year a quarrel broke out between the Genevese preachers and the secular authorities of the city. The feud became so bitter that Calvin and Farel were banished. The former made his way to Strasburg, where he was welcomed by Bucer and made the pastor of a Church of fifteen hundred French refugees.



JOHN CALVIN.

It was at this epoch that he matured his theological views, the same being intermediate between the doctrines of Luther and those of Zwingli. In 1540 he married Idelette de Bures, widow of an Anabaptist. After several years he was permitted to return to Geneva, where he was received with the applause of the people. What may be called the Presbyterial system of church government, was now formulated. Geneva fell under the general government of a council, and so rigorous were the methods adopted that the city is said to have been reduced to a standard of severe morality, unparallelled in the whole history of civil communities. A consistory was appointed to hear and decide all causes of complaint respecting the character and conduct of the citizens. In one instance a man was called before the body and severely punished for laughing while Calvin was preaching a sermon.

The natural austerity, gloom, and dolor of Calvin's character were reflected in his theological system. The leading tenets of his theology may be briefly summarized: Man is by nature guilty and corrupt. The first man was made upright and holy. From this estate of purity and bliss he fell and was damned, with all the race that was to spring from his loins. Depravity and corruption were thus universally diffused in man. All men are obnoxious to the anger of God. The works of man are all sinful and corrupt. Hence the human race is justly condemned under the judgment and wrath of God. Even infants come into the

world under this condemnation. They have the seed of sin within them. Their whole nature is a seed of sin. The natural condition of the human race is in every respect hateful and abominable to the Almighty. The remedy for this state is in Christ. He, the Son of God, became incarnate, took man's nature in union with his own, thus combining two natures in one person. By his humiliation, obedience, suffering, death, resurrection, he redeemed the world and merited salvation for men. The believer is saved by a union with Christ through faith. Faith brings repentance. Then comes the mortification of the flesh and the inner revival of a spiritual life. The decrees of God are from everlasting to everlasting. They are immutable and eternal. Whatever has been, is, or will be, was predestined to be from the foundation of the world. By these decrees a part of the race is foreördained to eternal life, and another part to eternal damnation. Nor is the will of man free in the sense that by its own action it may exercise a directing influence on his destiny. That has been already determined and decreed in the eternal counsels of the Most High.

Such were the leading doctrines of that system of which Calvin became the founder. The system took hold of the minds and hearts and lives of those who accepted it with the grip of fate. No other code of religious doctrine ever professed by any branch of the human family laid upon mankind such a rod of chastisement. The natural desires, instincts, and pleasures of the human heart fell bleeding and died under the wheels of this iron car. Human nature in its entirety was crushed and beaten as if in a mortar. The early Calvinists in Switzerland, France, England, and Scotland grew as relentless and severe as the system which they accepted. No such religious rigors had ever been witnessed in the world as those which prevailed where the Calvinistic doctrines flourished. Many of the practices of the Church which became organic around these doctrines were as cruel and bloody as those of Rome. Persecutions were instituted which would have done credit to the Council of Constance and the days of John Huss. Michael Servetus, a Spanish author and scholar, who had opposed the theory and progress of Calvinism, fell under the displeasure of the Genevese theologians, and was charged with heresy. He was dragged before the municipal council of Geneva in 1546, and by that body was condemned to death. The prosecution was conducted by Calvin himself in the spirit of an inquisitor. Servetus was condemned, taken to a hill a short distance from the city, and there burned alive. His books were cast into the flames with him. Nor was Calvin unsupported by the other Reformers in this infamous business. The mild Melanchthon approved the act; so did Bucer. But the approval of Luther, who had died a few months previously, could never have been gained for such a deed.

Not only in his own country, but everywhere where the influence of Calvin extended, the same or similar scenes were witnessed. On one occasion he wrote a letter to Lord Somerset, then Protector of England, urging him to destroy the "fanatic sect of Gospellers by the avenging sword which the Lord had placed in his hands." The English Reformers of the middle of the century accepted the doctrines of Calvin, and followed his lead in the attempted extermination of heresy. Many persons were put to death before the end of the reign of Henry VIII. In 1550, Edward VI. being then on the throne, a *woman* was burned at the stake for some opinion about the incarnation of Christ. To his credit, the king hesitated to sign the death warrant, but finally yielded on the authority of *Cranmer!*[1]

The work then went on bravely until the times of Elizabeth, during whose reign one hundred and sixty persons were burned on account of their religion. Seventeen others met a similar fate under James I., and twenty were sent to the stake by the Presbyterians and Republicans of the Commonwealth. It will thus be seen that the Reformers of the sixteenth century, having once made the fatal mistake of taking up the very same major premises under which Rome had all the time been acting, namely, that the individual judgment,

[1] A hundred years afterwards the historian Fuller commenting on this diabolical deed, says that during the reign of Edward VI., only this woman and one or two Arians were all who were *justly put to death for their religious opinions!*

will, and conscience might be properly governed, controlled, and coërced by church authority, rushed blindly and of necessity into the same abuses and crimes of which Rome had been so monstrously guilty.

Nevertheless, the Reformation on the whole conduced greatly to the emancipation of human thought and to the progress of civil liberty. That ecclesiastical power which had so long held the world in thralldom was broken. Though the monstrous assumption of the right of the Church to govern the human mind was not renounced, but on the contrary was reässerted by the Reformers, the power to exercise that "right" was first weakened and then destroyed.

In this respect, the Reform party builded better than it knew or willed. It set the example of a successful insurrection against Rome, and gave to others the precedent for a successful insurrection against itself. And the world has been by so much the gainer. When, by and by, Bacon and Descartes, the authors of the greatest intellectual revolution which the modern world has witnessed, came upon the stage, they found the fallow ground already ripped up by the plowshare of the Reformation, and they sowed their seed in a soil which otherwise might have had no power of fecundity. But, as to an actual reform of religion, the great revolt of the sixteenth century did less than it has had credit for. The New Church *in Germany* was a great improvement on Romanism; but in England it would have required a microscope to discover even the premonitory symptoms of a true reform. Again the words of the temperate Guizot may be adopted and approved: "In England it [the Reformation] consented to the hierarchical constitution of the clergy, and to the existence of a Church as full of abuses as ever the Romish Church had been, and much more servile."

LOYOLA.

The religious revolt was now an accomplished fact. What should Rome do to regain, to restore, her lost dominion? One of the principal measures adopted in her extremity to counteract the progress of the Reformation was the propagation under her patronage of the Order of Jesuits. The germinal idea and early development of this famous organization must be ascribed to the founder, Ignatius de Loyola. This celebrated personage was born at Azcoytia, Spain, in 1491. His youth was spent in the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, where he served as a page. He then became a soldier, and was with the Spanish army in the war against Portugal. During the siege of Pampeluna, in 1521, be was wounded, and rendered a cripple for life. He spent the days of a tedious recovery in reading the lives of the saints, and was thus turned to the contemplation of religious subjects. For a while, his experiences were similar to those of Luther before entering the convent. In the hope of saving his soul, Loyola adopted for himself the hardest discipline of monasticism. He fasted, prayed, scourged himself, became a fanatic.

In the midst of these "spiritual exercises," he formed the design of founding a new order of religious militia with its head-quarters in Jerusalem. Preparatory to this work, he made a pilgrimage to the Holy City, studied afterwards at Alcala and at the University of Paris, where, at the age of forty-three, he took his master's degree. He then gathered a few followers, founded his order, and became henceforth merged as it were in the Society of Jesus. This name had already been bestowed on an order of chivalry established by Pope Pius II., in 1459, and was now reäppropriated by Ignatius and his disciples. These bound themselves by a vow "to the death" to lead forever lives of chastity and poverty. On the morning of the 15th of August, 1543, in the crypt of the Church of Our Lady of the Martyrs, at Montmartre, Loyola and his six companions, of whom only one was a priest, met and took upon themselves the solemn vows of their lifelong work. They renounced all worldly dignities in order that they might give themselves up without reserve to the cause of Christ.

In the course of two years, the society increased from seven to thirteen members. At the first, the Order was rather under the displeasure of the Church; but at length the

brotherhood was received with favor by Paul III., who added to its resources, and gave to the body the papal sanction. He appointed Pierre Lefevre and Diego Laynez, two of the leading members, to chairs of theology in the University of Sapianza, at Rome. It became the practice of the brothers of the Order to spend much of their time in teaching and catechising the children of the Church to the end that heresy might die for want of a soil in which to flourish. At this juncture, Cardinal Caraffa and a few other ecclesiastics, jealous of the fame which Ignatius was acquiring, preferred against him charges of heresy. Hereupon, he went boldly to the Pope, demanded a trial, and was acquitted. The Holy Father now perceived, or thought he perceived, in the new Order a germ which, if properly developed, might grow into a power capable of undoing the Protestant revolution. He accordingly issued an edict for the opening of schools in Italy, the same to be placed under charge of Jesuit teachers. Thus, at the foundation of Catholic society was planted the seed of a new influence, destined to check the process of dissolution, and to restore in some measure the solidarity of shattered Rome.

The Society of Jesus was thenceforth recognized as the chief opposing force of Protestantism. The Order became dominant in determining the plans and policy of the Romish Church. The brotherhood grew and flourished. It planted its chapters first in France, Italy, and Spain, and then in all civilized lands. The success of the Order was phenomenal. It became a power in the world. It sent out its representatives to every quarter of the globe. Its solitary apostles were seen shadowing the thrones of Europe. They sought, by every means known to human ingenuity, to establish and confirm the tottering fabric of Rome, and to undermine the rising fabric of Protestantism. They penetrated to the Indus and the Ganges. They sought the islands of the sea. They traversed the deserts of Thibet, and said, "*Here am I,*" in the streets of Peking. They looked down into the silver mines of Peru, and knelt in prayer on the shore of Lake Superior. To know all secrets, fathom all designs, penetrate all intrigues, prevail in all counsels, rise above all diplomacy, and master the human race,—such was their purpose and ambition. They wound about human society in every part of the habitable earth the noiseless creepers of their ever-growing plot to retake the world for the Church, and to subdue and conquer and extinguish the last remnant of opposition to her dominion from shore to shore, from the rivers to the ends of the earth.—Hereafter the traces of their work may be seen in every part of the now widening web of history.

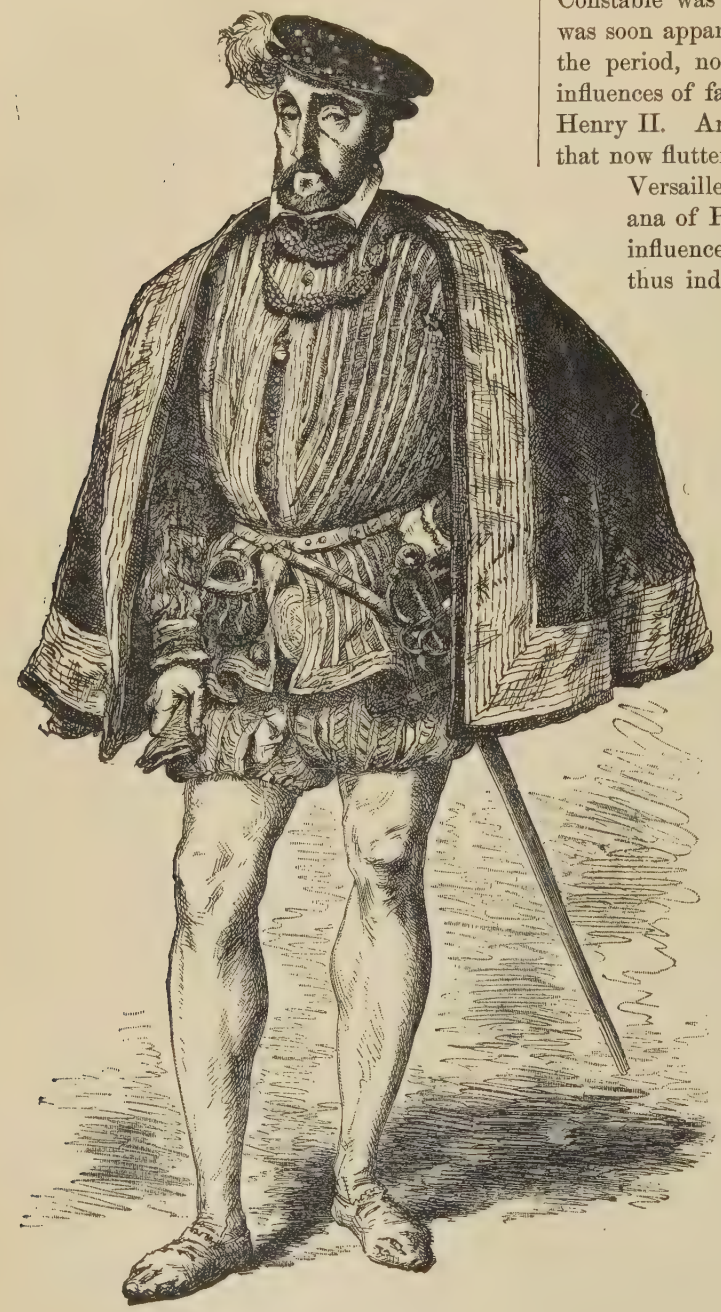
CHAPTER CIII.—LAST HALF OF CENTURY XVI.

IN the present chapter a sketch will be presented of the general progress of events in the leading states of Europe during the last half of the sixteenth century. The epoch will embrace the period from the accession of Henry II. to the reign of Louis XIII. (1547–1610), in French history; the reigns of Ferdinand I., Maximilian II., and Rudolph II. in Germany; the Elizabethan Age in England, and the war of Spain with the Netherlands.

As soon as the fever-tossed Francis I. was dead the French crown passed to the head of his son, HENRY II. This prince, like his father, was brave, gay, generous, and profuse. Without the great talents and ambitions of Francis, the new sovereign made up in goodness of temper and chivalrous dispositions what he lacked in genius. It was his misfortune to have for his queen the celebrated Catharine de Medici, and his good fortune that this afterwards detestable woman stood as yet in the shadows of the throne and did not reveal her true character until after her husband's death.

It was at this epoch that Claude of Lorraine, better known as the Duke of Guise, became a prominent character in the history of his times.

It appears that Francis I. divined something of the disposition and aspirations of the Guises. A short time before his death he called to his bedside the Dauphin Henry and bade him beware of the ambition of the house of Lorraine. This warning, however, had no effect on Henry, and the family of Guise was set by him in great favor. Nor did the admonition of Francis to Henry, not to recall from banishment the Constable de Montmorenci, any more avail with the new king by whom the Constable was at once recalled to court. It was soon apparent that of all the monarchs of the period, none was more accessible to the influences of favoritism than the good natured Henry II. Among the group of court moths that now fluttered in the sunlight of Paris and Versailles, none was so brilliant as Diana of Poitiers. More than others she influenced the mind of the king, and thus indirectly controlled the affairs of the kingdom. Witty, brilliant, and beautiful as she was, notwithstanding her age (for she was a widow and many years older than the king), she retained the freshness and vivacity of her youth, and was supposed by the superstitious to keep her ascendency by the arts of magic.



HENRY II.

In the second year of his reign, on the occasion of his entry into Paris, grand tournaments were celebrated in honor of the king. To make the spectacle still more entertaining and complete, a few heretics were burned alive in the presence of the whole court. The scene was so horrible as almost to unhinge the reason of one not accustomed to such pious exhibitions. It is believed that Henry, greatly to his credit, never quite recovered his equilibrium; for ever afterwards when the scene was brought to mind, he was observed to shudder as if about to fall in a spasm.

It will be remembered that in 1552 a war broke out between France and the Empire. It was in the nature of this conflict to bring Henry into alliance with the Protestant party in Germany. In this year the king led an army into the eastern provinces of France, seized several important towns belonging to the Empire, and threatened others with

THE INQUISITION IN SESSION.

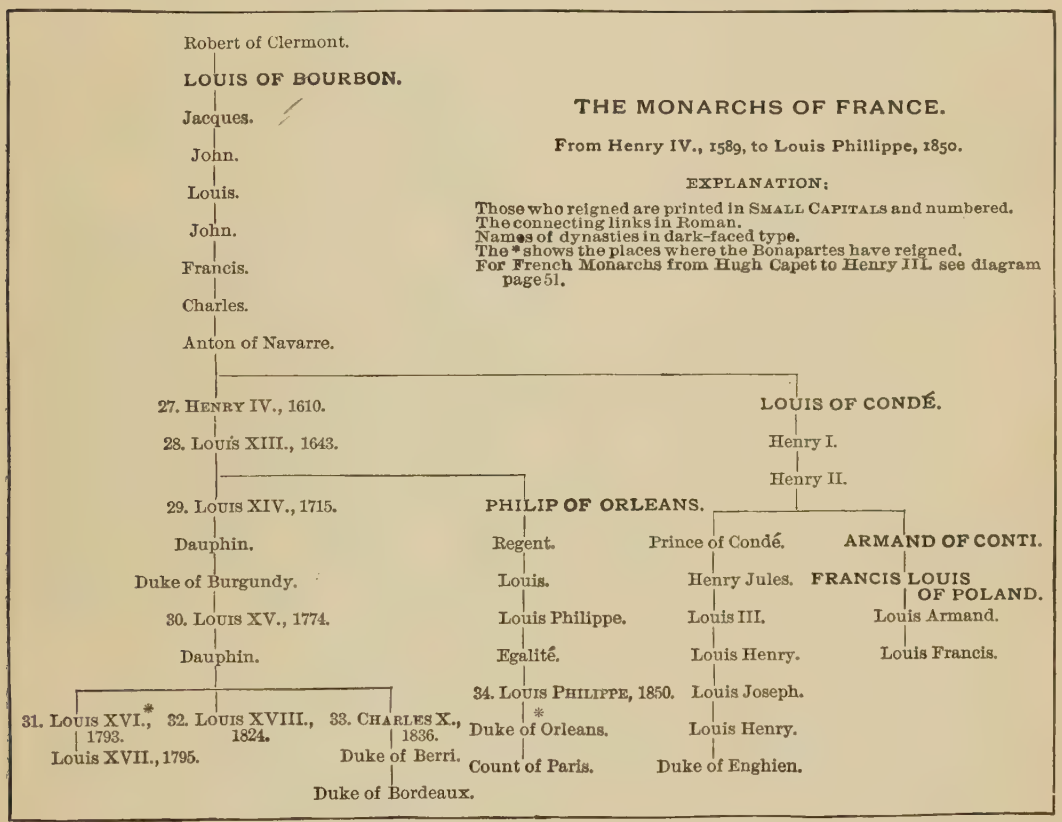
capture, until what time the Treaty of Passau was effected, and the league with the Protestants necessarily dissolved. When Philip II., by the abdication of his father, was made king of Spain and the Netherlands, he became involved in a quarrel with Pope Paul about certain possessions on the Italian side of the Alps. The Pope appealed to Henry for assistance, and hinted to that monarch that he might obtain as his reward the kingdom of Naples. It appears that whatever may have been the king's wish respecting this royal bait, he was urged by his courtiers, especially by the Duke of Guise and his brother, the cardinal of Lorraine, as well as by Diana of Poitiers, to accept the offer and make war on Philip. The king yielded to these influences, and an army was sent across the Alps under command of Guise.

The expedition, however, resulted in disaster, and in a short time the duke was recalled by the critical condition of affairs at home. For in the mean time Philip II. had obtained for his queen the Princess Mary of England, daughter of Henry VIII. and Catharine of Aragon, and now heiress presumptive to the English crown, and with her aid had organized an army for the invasion of France. The movement began by the siege of St. Quentin, into which place Coligny, admiral of France and nephew of Montmorenci, had thrown himself with a small body for defense.

It was for the relief of this place and to prevent the imminent invasion of the kingdom that Guise was now recalled from Italy and the Constable sent forward to rescue his nephew and save the fortress. A reïnforcement was brought to the relief of the town. Montmorenci then attempted to withdraw into the interior, but the Spaniards, under command of Emanuel Philibert, fell upon him, and in a severe battle inflicted an overwhelming defeat, the most disastrous, indeed, which the French arms had suffered since the battles of Crecy and Poitiers. Montmorenci lost four thousand of his men on the field. For the time it was expected that Philibert would march directly on Paris; but the king of Spain forbade him to crown his campaign with so decisive a stroke, and ordered that the siege

BURNING OF HERETICS IN PARIS.

of St. Quentin be continued. Three weeks of precious time were thus consumed. This gave opportunity to the terrified Henry and his ministers to recover from their fright and prepare to resist the further invasion of the kingdom. Meanwhile the Duke of Guise arrived from Italy. Then came the news that the German soldiers in the army of Philip had mutinied for the want of pay. The tables were suddenly turned upon Spain and her allies. The Duke of Guise marched down to



Calais, and by a brilliant exploit wrested that stronghold from the enemy.

So great now became the fame of this ambitious leader that he was regarded as the first personage in France, if not in Europe. In order to strengthen and perpetuate his power he brought about a marriage between the Dauphin Francis and his own niece Mary, the young queen of Scotland. He became an arbiter of affairs, and in 1559 secured a treaty between Henry and Philip at the Chateau Cambresis. In order to make permanent the settlement thus brought about it was agreed that Philip should marry the Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the French king, and that Margaret, the sister of that ruler, should be wedded to Philibert, duke of Savois. Queen Mary, the first wife of Philip, had died in the preceding year, by which event the king was freed to contract a new union. The marriage with Elizabeth accordingly took place on the 17th of June, in the same year of the treaty, the Duke of Alva standing proxy for the king in the ceremony at Paris.

A royal wedding in his kingdom was precisely that kind of event in which Henry II. most delighted. As a fitting accompaniment to the marriage of his daughter he ordered the space between the Tournelle and the Bastile to be cleared for a tournament. He himself being an expert horseman and gallant knight entered the lists and broke several lances in jousting with the noble lords of his court. The fête continued for several days, and on the last day the king again, in the tourney, challenged the Count of Montgomery, captain of the Scottish guard, to run with him atilt. Montgomery, who was a very powerful and skillful knight, at first declined to put his

liege's life in peril in such dangerous sport; but Henry would hear to nothing but an acceptance. When the two contestants came to the shock Montgomery's lance was broken against the king's helmet, and a splinter of the shaft pierced his right eye. Henry reeled from the saddle, was caught in the arms of the Dauphin and borne in the midst of the greatest confusion from the ring. He lay speechless and senseless for eleven days and then died, being in the thirteenth year of his reign.

By the death of Henry II. the kingdom fell into such a condition as might well lead to anarchy. He left three sons to succeed him in turn, who were destined to reign in succession and die without male heirs. The other members of his family were so united by marriage as to complicate the politics of half of Europe. Not the least serious aspect of affairs was the ascendency of the Guises, who would naturally claim and did claim the direction of affairs during the minority of the late king's sons. Opposed to the party of Guise, however, was the powerful faction headed by the constable Montmorenci. Nor was the character of the Dauphin FRANCIS, upon whom, at the age of sixteen, the crown of France descended, sufficiently stable or his will sufficiently strong to shore up the reeling kingdom. A third personage who now rose to prominence in the state was Anthony of Bourbon, who traced his descent to Saint Louis through Robert of Clermont, by which line he became a possibility respecting the crown. He now, by his marriage with Jeanne d'Albret, daughter of Margaret, sister of Francis I., held the title of King of Navarre, though that dignity, after Louis XI., had become merely a name.

It will be remembered that Francis II. had already been betrothed to Mary Queen of Scots, niece of the Duke of Guise. This relationship now gave to the duke an additional influence in the court, and for a while the party of Montmorenci was thrown into the shadows. The latter faction was still further weakened by the fact that two of the nephews of the duke, namely, the Admiral de Coligny and the Count d'Andelôt, joined the Protestant party now and henceforth known as the HUGUENOTS. So great was the offense taken by Montmorenci at this defection of his kinsmen that he left them to go their ways and united himself with the Duke of Guise. A political

THE DUKE OF GUISE.

peace might have been thus assured but for the course now taken by the Cardinal of Lorraine. Himself a brother of the Duke of Guise, he urged that powerful nobleman to undertake the extermination of the heretics. The duke was not himself a bigot, but he yielded to the authority of his brother, and a series of persecutions were instituted against the Huguenots, which, for heartless cruelty, are hardly to be paralleled. A number of inquisitorial courts, known as the "Burning Chambers," were erected for the trial of heretics, and the poor wretches who for conscience' sake had the temerity to doubt the dogmas of Rome were brought by scores and hundreds to the tribunal from which there was no appeal, and the end of which was the fagot.

At length a conspiracy was made against the Duke of Guise by the people of Amboise. The plot, which embraced the seizure of the duke and a revolution of the government, was on the point of succeeding, when it was discovered and the conspirators arrested. With hardly the form of a trial, they were condemned and executed with every circumstance of cruelty. Their bodies were mutilated and hung up on iron hooks around the walls of the castle of Amboise, where the king and queen at that time had their residence. It is related that Catharine de Medici and the ladies of the court looked on with eager delight from the castle windows while the prisoners were executed outside. It was as an alleged participant in this conspiracy that Louis, prince of Condé, a brother of Anthony of Bourbon, first came prominently forward as an actor. He was accused and tried for his supposed part in the plot against the Guise, but partly through his self-possession and eloquence, and partly from the failure of testimony against him, he escaped condemnation. He and his brother Bourbon, however, retired from the court circle and sought seclusion in Guienne, whence they kept up a correspondence with the Huguenots.

The French Protestants known by this name had their origin in certain anti-Catholic influences antedating the Lutheran Reformation in Germany. The origin of the word *Huguenot* is unknown. It was first used by the Catholic writers as a term of reproach and contempt. The great Arian heresy had had in no other country a firmer foothold than in Southern France. Through the whole period of the Middle Ages the people of Languedoc were disposed to sympathize with the opposition to Rome. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this old national preference and tendency revived with new power, and hostile elements of religious society became organic around such leaders as Margaret of Valois, Admiral Coligni, Louis of Condé, and Henry of Navarre. At one time it appeared not improbable that the French court itself, where the wits, poets, and philosophers then, as afterwards, were generally tinctured with a certain liberalism which could not coëxist with the doctrines of Rome, would turn Huguenot. The influence of the Guises, however, prevented the development of this tendency in Paris and French Protestantism became provincial; but in the University of Paris the seeds of opposition still germinated, and sometimes came to fruitage.

Long before this the city of Meaux had become a sort of center for the heretics. Here they gathered. Here lived the early French Reformers Gerard Roussel, François Vatable, Martial Mazurier, Jossé Clicthon, Michael d'Arande, and Guillaume Farel—all heroes in their generation. As to the doctrines of Protestantism in France the same were adopted from the system of Calvin, in the year 1559. By this time the Huguenots had become a powerful party, and were not without hopes of revolutionizing the French Church and gaining the ascendency in the kingdom. In this hope they were disappointed by the appearance of that able and ambitious family, the Guises.

Francis II. was fated to an early death. Before he had completed the second year of his reign he was prostrated by an abscess in the head. When it became evident that he must die the kingdom was struck with consternation. The queen-mother, Catharine, became for the hour the most conspicuous personage in France. For the marriage of Francis and Mary Stuart had brought no heir to the throne. The crown must therefore descend to Charles IX., second son of Catharine and Henry II. This prince was at the time but ten years of age. A regency became a necessity, and Catharine was made regent. On the

death of Francis, in December of 1560, almost the entire management of the kingdom fell into her hands. The boy king was a mere puppet, ruled by her at her will. Possessed of great abilities and all the ambitions for which the Medici had long been noted, she now began a career in which were centered all the crafty machinations and bigoted projects which might well be expected to flourish in a brilliant woman nurtured by Rome and schooled by Paris.

As soon as it was evident that Francis was dying, the powerful nobles who had held a controlling influence during his brief reign

CATHARINE DE MEDICI (in her youth).

began to pay obsequious court to Catharine. The Duke of Guise and his brother, the cardinal, besought her to seize and put to death the king of Navarre and the Prince of Condé. But the Chancellor l'Hôpital took the opposite view of the situation, pleaded for tolerance, and urged the queen-mother to hold the family of Montmorenci as a counterpoise to that of Guise. The arguments of l'Hôpital prevailed, and Anthony of Bourbon was called to court to take part in public affairs. Thus for a brief season the quarrels and feuds of Guise and Montmorenci were filmed over with the thin and transparent dermis of policy. As for Catharine's part in the peace, she was altogether insincere, being heart and soul with the Guises.

The boy Charles, now nominally king of France, fell at once into the shadow of his mother and the duke. L'Hôpital pleaded in vain for the adoption of a liberal and just policy. Guise, not satisfied with an ascendency which was less emphatic than that which he had possessed during the reign of Francis II., formed a Triumvirate, consisting of himself, the Constable Mortmorenci, and the Maréchal St. André, and into this league the king of Navarre, who had abandoned the cause of the Huguenots, was induced to enter. The object of the alliance was to increase the power of the parties thereto, and to prevent any other from directing the woman who directed the man who was supposed to direct France.

As soon as Catharine became aware of the compact made by her *friends* with a view to restricting her absolutism in the state, she undertook to counterbalance the plot of the Triumvirate with one of her own. She began to court the favor of the Huguenots, to whom she extended several favors. But this policy won not at all. The Catholics being in the majority, rallied around the Guises as the champions of the ancient Church. The slight encouragement given by the insincere queen to the Huguenots misled them to believe that the power of the kingdom would really be exerted for their protection. But great was the error of such a supposition. The smiling and considerate eyes of Catharine were none the less the eyes of a basilisk.

In a short time the two religious parties of France were brought into such a state as to portend civil war. All the antecedents of such a conflict were present, and only the exciting cause was wanting. Nor was the occasion of an outbreak long delayed. A company of Huguenots, assembling for worship in a barn near Vassy, were insulted by the retainers of the Duke of Guise. The latter appeared and undertook to put an end to the affray, but was himself struck in the face with a stone. Hereupon his servants drew their swords, charged the Huguenots and slew several of their number. The news of the conflict spread everywhere and produced great excitement. The Protestants regarded the event as the beginning of hostilities, and flew to arms.

The Prince of Condé became the leader of the insurgents. He seized the city of Orleans and issued a manifesto, in which he exhorted all the opposers of the Romish Church to rally to the support of a common cause. Many towns fell into the hands of the Huguenots, and the revolt threatened to become revolutionary. Negotiations were opened with Elizabeth of England, and that queen promised to send aid to the Protestants across the Channel. In return for this support the town of Havre was put into her hands by the Huguenots. Both parties prepared for war, and in 1562 the work began with the siege of Rouen by the Catholics.

In the struggle which ensued France became a prey to the bloodiest spirits of the age. At the outbreak of the conflict Rouen was held by the Huguenots. During the siege of the city the king of Navarre received a fatal wound and died before reaching Paris. When at last Rouen was taken the Catholic soldiers were turned loose to glut their vengeance on the citizens. The second conflict of the war was at Dreux where a battle was fought, in which the Catholics were at the first defeated. St. André was killed and Montmorenci captured; but later in the fight Condé was taken prisoner, and Coligni, upon whom the command devolved, was forced from the field. It is narrated that when Condé was taken to the tent of the Duke of Guise he was received and entertained by that nobleman with all the courtesy due from one prince to another. Guise obliged his distinguished prisoner to take lodging in his own bed; and the troubled Condé, nervous from excitement and the novelty of his surroundings, declared afterwards that Guise slept as soundly as if reposing on his couch in his palace at Paris.

The next operation of the war was a campaign against Orleans, undertaken in the spring of 1563. The Duke of Guise was again the leader of the expedition. A siege of the city began and had been pressed almost to a conclusion when the duke, riding from the front to the camp, was waylaid and fatally shot by a fanatic named Poltrot de Merey. The latter, when arrested and put to the torture for his crime, accused several others, notably Admiral Coligni, of having instigated him to commit the deed. But the admiral protested his innocence with such emphasis as to make it clear that Poltrot had lied in the hope of saving himself from death. In a few days the Duke of Guise died, and his titles descended to his son Henry. Two brothers of the latter, namely, the Cardinal de Guise and Charles, duke of Mayenne, were destined to act a conspicuous part in the drama of their times.

In accordance with the dying exhortations of the Duke of Guise, the queen regent now consented to a peace with the Huguenots. Nor were the conditions such as to make the exercise of the Protestant faith a serious hardship to him who professed it. A brief interval of four years followed, during which France enjoyed a respite from the horrors which bigotry had inflicted upon her. In the year 1565, Catharine availed herself of the peaceful condition of the kingdom to make a tour with her son through the different parts of France. When the royal party arrived at Bayonne, they received a visit from the king's sister Isabella, now queen of Spain. She came to the meeting under the conduct of the Duke of Alva, Philip's prime minister, in whom Catharine de Medici found a most congenial spirit; for the one was the brother and the other the sister of cruelty. It is alleged—and there are good grounds for the allegation—that the duke and the French queen here laid a plot for the extermination of the Huguenots at whatever expense of blood and treasure.

PRINCE OF CONDÉ.

The Protestants found in the manner and broken promises of the queen constant cause of apprehension, and when the Duke of Alva was appointed governor of the Netherlands, which had recently revolted against the authority of Philip, the alarm of the Huguenot party was increased. It was these apprehensions, rather than any overt act on the part

ASSASSINATION OF DUKE FRANCIS OF GUISE.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

of the Catholics, that led to the Protestant uprising of 1567. There was a conspiracy among them to gain possession of the person of the young king, and to this end they attempted to take the town of Meaux, where Charles then had his residence. Failing in their undertaking, they then marched on Paris and laid siege to the city. The defense was conducted by the aged Constable Montmorenci, who was presently induced by the clamors of the citizens to give battle to the insurgents. He accordingly marched out and met the Huguenot army in the plain of St. Denis. Here a severe conflict ensued, in which the besiegers were defeated. Coligni fled from before the city; but the success of the Catholics was fully counterbalanced by the death of Montmorenci, who was mortally wounded in the battle.

It appears, however, that the queen regent was as much pleased as grieved by the loss of the constable; for it was her policy to weed out the powerful nobles about the court, lest they should thwart the schemes which she was now maturing for the destruction of the Huguenots. Nevertheless, with profound subtlety she concluded with them another nominal peace, which was observed for nearly two years. In the mean time she induced the king to intrust the command of the army to his younger brother, Henry, duke of Anjou, who, like Charles himself, was completely under her influence. Since Henry was not fitted either by age or experience to direct the military operations of the kingdom, the Maréchal Tavanes was appointed to that responsibility. Under his direction a powerful army was organized and equipped for the conflict which was certainly impending.

In the spring of 1569 hostilities were renewed. The first battle was fought near the town of Jarnac. The Huguenots were commanded by the Prince of Condé, whose conduct was in every respect heroic. With his wounded arm supported in a sling, he began giving orders for the engagement when he received a kick from a horse whereby his leg was broken. But still undaunted he entered the fight, animating the soldiers by his voice and presence. The Huguenots, however, who in numbers were scarcely more than one-fourth as strong as the Catholics, were soon overwhelmed and driven from the field. Condé, unable to make his escape, was taken, lifted from his horse, and laid in the shade of a tree. Here he was presently found and shot dead by one of the captains of the Duke of Anjou's body-guard.

The death of their leader was a severe stroke to the Huguenots. In their distress they now chose as head of their party young Henry of Navarre, son of Anthony of Bourbon. Owing to his youth, he was considered incapable for the present of assuming the duties of leadership in the field. The command of the army was accordingly given to Coligni. In October of 1569 was fought the battle of Montcontour, in which the Catholics were again

MONTMORENCI.

victorious. Coligni then carried the war into Burgundy, and the campaign of the following year resulted in his favor. Again dissembling her purpose, the queen a second time consented to peace, and Coligni was called to the court. He was received with great cordiality by the young king, now approaching his majority; in so much that the admiral's suspicions and those of the Huguenots were in a great measure allayed. The event showed that never in the history of the world did a leader and his followers have better grounds to be suspicious than did Coligni and the French Protestants in the lull of 1571. Nor did the fact that Catharine, in the hope of

putting the Huguenots still further off their guard, now proceeded to give her daughter in marriage to Prince Henry of Navarre, lessen the shocking perfidy which was about to bear the bloodiest fruit of the century.

Another step in the diabolical plot, now matured in the mind of Catharine de Medici, was the invitation sent by her to the queen of Navarre to come to Paris and be present at the marriage of her son with *her* daughter. The invitation was accepted and the Protestant queen was as cordially received by Charles as Coligni had been previously.

FLIGHT OF COLIGNI FROM PARIS.

Meanwhile the Pope's legate appeared on the scene and entered his solemn protest against the heretical marriage about to be consummated. It is narrated that the king, after reassuring the legate of his own sincere devotion to the Holy Church, added in a significant manner: "O, that it were in my power to explain myself more fully!" While the preparations for the marriage were progressing, the queen of Navarre suddenly sickened and died. Nevertheless the nuptials were celebrated on the 18th of August, 1572, and the unwilling Margaret—for her affections had already been given to the Duke of Guise—was led to the altar to become the bride of the leader of the Huguenots.

Then followed the banquet and the masquerade. While the revels were still on, messengers arrived from the city of Rochelle, at this time the principal seat of the Huguenots, to warn Coligni not to remain longer in Paris, but to make his escape at once from the snare which was set for his destruction. But the admiral refused to do an act which would give countenance to the distrust of his friends. Four days after the marriage, as he was passing from the Louvre to his hotel, he was fired at and twice wounded by an assassin stationed behind a grated window. The murderer proved to be a servant of the Duke of Guise. The wounds of Coligni were slight, but all the suppressed alarm of the Huguenots broke forth as they gathered about their stricken chief. The king and queen mother omitted no effort to allay the excitement. They went in person

to the bed-chamber of Coligni, and expressed their well-dissembled grief and indignation at the outrage done to his person. They told him of their anxiety lest the Catholics of the city should fall upon the Huguenots and do them harm. As a precautionary measure they *closed the gates of the city*, and procured a list of the names and places of abode of all Protestants in Paris with *a view to their* PROTECTION!

The Italian woman who at this time ruled France, and her son who was the nominal king, had now completed the plot which for treachery in conception and horror of execution surpassed any tragedy of modern times. It had been arranged to entice the Huguenots to Paris, and destroy them in a general massacre! After that, the same scenes were to be renewed in different parts of the kingdom infested with Protestantism, until the heresy should be extinguished in blood. It was arranged that the massacre should begin at the sounding of the matin bell, in the Church of St. Germain, on the morning of St. Bartholomew's day. At that signal, the Duke of Guise and the Italian guards of the palace were to rush forth and set the example of butchery, beginning with the murder of Coligni. This done, the work was to be carried on by the Catholics until the last Huguenot was exterminated. Orders were secretly issued to all the principal provincial cities of the kingdom to proceed in the same manner until none should be left further to trouble the peace of Catholic France.

The horrible programme was carried out to the letter. It is said that Charles IX. hesitated to sign the order for the massacre, that he was overborne by his mother and the Duke of Guise, in neither of whose veins flowed any longer a single drop of pity. Perhaps he hesitated; but he signed the orders. In accordance with this warrant the Duke of Guise, in the early dawn of the 24th of August, sallied forth with his band of murderers, made his way to the hotel of Coligni, and unleashed the assassins for their work. They burst into the old admiral's apartment, stabbed him to death, and threw his body out of the window into the street. Guise was waiting below on horseback.

COLIGNI.

He dismounted, and wiped the dust from the honored face of Coligni, in order that he might be sure that there was no life remaining. There was none. The honored head of the great Coligni was cut off and sent as an acceptable trophy to the Cardinal of Lorraine. The bells of St. Germain were sounded, Huguenot had been marked, and now woe to the inhabitant! The city became a horrid uproar. Crowds of fugitives surged along the streets, pursued by other crowds with drawn swords dripping with blood. It is said that when the pitiful wail of the dying began to rise from all quarters, the king suffered a

CATHARINE DE MEDICI AND CHARLES IX.
After a contemporary painting.

and the general massacre of helpless men, women, and children began. Paris soon reeked like a butcher's stall. The streets were slippery with blood. The residence of every momentary shudder; but he soon warmed with the work, and shared in his mother's insane delight. He, with Catharine and his brother Henry of Anjou, took his station at one of

the windows of the Louvre, and fired from his fowling-piece shot after shot among the flying Huguenots. Seeing one company about to make their way over a bridge of the Seine, he exclaimed: "My God! they are escaping!" A volume could not record the individual atrocities of that horrid night. One miserable fugitive burst into the bed-chamber of the Queen of Navarre, pursued by his murderers, and she was scarcely able to keep off their bloody swords. For seven days the massacre continued, until at last the Devil of Murder, dead-drunk with the blood of thirty thousand victims, slunk into his kennel, muttered *Te Deum laudamus*, and went to sleep!

ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

In Paris, nearly all of the Huguenots were killed. In the provincial cities, some of the governors refused to obey the diabolical edict of the court. The brave ruler of Bayonne answered the mandate thus: "Your majesty has many faithful servants in Bayonne, but not one executioner." But in other towns the scenes were almost as horrible as those in Paris. On the day following St. Bartholomew, the city of Meaux was sprinkled with the blood of the Huguenots. At La Charité the massacre occurred on the 26th, and at Orleans on the 27th. The waves of the crimson sea rolled as far as Saumur and Angers on the 29th, and Lyons on the 30th of the month. Nor did this dreadful drama of murder cease until the 3d of October, when the curtain fell in the surf beyond Bordeaux.

For the hour, the exultation of the French court was unbounded; but the rejoicings of the Catholics were of brief duration. In a short time the principal authors of the great crime, which had been committed against civilization and humanity, were placed on the defensive. They began to invent—and their apologists have ever since continued to invent—excuses for the tragedy. They declared that Coligni had formed a plot to kill the king, and that his own murder was only a measure of retributive justice. But all the more the specter would not down at their bidding. The common instincts of human nature were all arrayed against them, and the finger

of Nemesis was pointed ever in the face of Catharine and her shuddering son.

It was one of the strange features of the massacre that both the Prince of Condé and the King of Navarre escaped with their lives. They were both, however, imprisoned in the Louvre, and the queen regent, the king, and the Duke of Guise set about reconverting the prisoners to the Catholic faith. At length the captive princes yielded to the solicitations of their persecutors, attended mass, and *pretended* to become good sons of the Church.

ASSASSINATION OF COLIGNI.

In foreign countries the news of the massacre was variously received, according to the religious prejudices of the various courts. In Rome there was a jubilee. Pope Gregory XIII. issued a letter lauding the fact and the manner of this signal triumph over heresy, and ordering *Te Deums* to be sung in the churches for the manifest mercy and favor of heaven! In England, however, there was a very different scene. Fénelon, the French ambassador at the court of Elizabeth, was ordered by Charles to recite to that queen the lie which Rome and Paris had patched up wherewith to hide their crime. Perhaps a more striking scene was never witnessed than the audience granted by Elizabeth to the French ambassador. She received him by night. The ladies of the court were ordered to clothe themselves in black and to sit without a word or look of recognition as Fénelon entered the chamber. Elizabeth heard him in silence, and then proceeded to tell him concerning his king and country some of the plainest truth to which a courtier was ever obliged to listen. But for the most part the Catholic countries acted after the manner of Rome and ratified the horrid deed which she had inspired.

For a while the Huguenots sat dumb under the dreadful blow. It is, however, in the nature of man to resent to the last extreme a crime committed against his cherished rights. There was a certain despair in the fury with which the French Protestants now rose against their destroyers. They took up arms, fortified themselves in Rochelle, and within less than a year from the tragedy of St. Bartholomew's day compelled the French

court to conclude with them an honorable treaty of peace.

A fortune-teller had made the superstitious Catharine believe that all three of her sons were to be kings. If kings of France the prophecy would mean that the first two must die young. Francis II. had fulfilled the prediction. Charles was by no means the queen regent's favorite, and of Henry she was distrustful. In order that the present king might retain his throne and his younger brother become a king, Catharine managed to have the latter elected to the throne of Poland. The Duke of Anjou, however, was little disposed to change the delights of Paris for the somewhat dubious glories of the Polish crown. Nor is it likely that he would have accepted his hyperborean honor but for the fact that the jealous Charles forced him to do so. Prince Henry was as much a favorite with the people of France as he was an object of dislike to his brother. The latter set out to accompany the king elect of Poland to the borders of France.

THE CARDINAL OF LORRAINE RECEIVING THE HEAD OF COLIGNI.

But the days of Charles IX. were numbered. After the tragedy of St. Bartholomew he became nervous, excitable, despondent. He was haunted with specters by day, and still more horrible phantoms by night. In his sleep the vision of the massacre perpetually

recurred, and he would awake dripping with perspiration. At intervals he was seized with a mortal shudder which shook his frame and left him prostrate. Nevertheless, he exerted himself to throw off the spell whereby he was haunted. He plunged into the chase. He sought the excitements of gay companionship. He amused himself blowing the French horn,

THE FUGITIVE HUGUENOT IN THE BED-CHAMBER OF THE QUEEN OF NAVARRE.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

and strove in a thousand ways to banish the memory of the past. But all in vain. On the way to the frontier with his brother he was seized with a fatal illness. It was evident that the grave yawned before him. It is declared by credible historians that his sufferings, both bodily and mental, were so great that the blood oozed from the pores of his skin. He died miserably on the 30th of May, 1574, being then in the twenty-fourth year of his age.

The third son of Catharine de Medici had already reached Cracow, and assumed the duties of sovereign when the news of his brother's death recalled him to become HENRY III. On his way back to France he tarried for a season in Germany and Italy, where he gave himself for a while to the unrestraints of princely liberty. On reaching his own capital, it soon became apparent that the hopes which the French people had entertained of him were doomed to disappointment. He shut himself up in the palace, neglected public affairs, and sought the inspiring companionship of lap-dogs and monkeys. To Catharine, however, the flattering incapacity of her son was especially delightful; for his worthlessness gave free scope to her ambitions.

It was the purpose of Henry to take in marriage the daughter of the Prince of Condé. But this project, which was exceedingly distasteful to the queen-mother, came suddenly to nought by the sudden death of the intended bride. The usual suspicion was blown abroad that her death was occasioned by poison, and that Catharine was privy to the deed. As for Henry III., he sorrowed for three days, and then returned to the society of his monkeys.

Meanwhile Henry, the young king of Navarre, made his escape from Paris, and rejoined the Huguenots. The political leadership of France was now divided between him and the Duke of Guise, who, like his father and his uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, was a man of great abilities. In 1576 a civil war broke out, but was fortunately less bloody than the preceding conflicts. It was the peculiarity of this epoch in French history that war did not mean war, or peace peace.

In the mean time the Duke of Alençon,

SCENE DURING THE NIGHT OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

younger brother of the king, by abandoning the Huguenot cause secured for himself the dukedom of Anjou. Soon after obtaining this dignity he made a treaty with the Flemings, the bottom principle of which was that the government of Philip II. in the Low Lands should be overthrown, and that the "Belgic Liberties," so called, should be intrusted to the protectorship of the Duke of Alençon. The ambition of the latter, however, soon overleaped itself, and the Flemings, discovering his purpose to make himself king of Netherlands, renounced his leadership. His next project was to promote his ambitious schemes by a marriage with Elizabeth, queen of England. But that prudent princess was not to be won by such an adventurer. The next stage in

the career of the duke was his death, which occurred in 1584.

It is one of the instructive lessons of history to note the frequent extinction of royal Houses by the silent and inscrutable process of nature. Without apparent cause the power of perpetuation in the royal household ceases. One prince after another expires childless. The last quarter of the sixteenth century furnishes two notable instances of this law, the one in the decline and extinction of the House of Tudor in England, and the other in the similar fact in the family of Henry II. of France. That monarch's first son, Francis II., died childless. The second son, Charles IX., left one daughter, who died at the age of five. Now the fourth son, the Duke of Alençon, had died without an heir; while the third son, Henry III., though for some years married, had no child to whom he could look as a successor. It was evident, therefore, that in the event of the king's death the crown must descend through a collateral line from the family of Saint Louis, and ultimately rest on the head of the celebrated Huguenot leader, Henry of Navarre.

This fact became a source of profound anxiety to both Catholics and Protestants. To the former it became a fixed principle of policy to adopt some measure by which the king of Navarre should be excluded from the throne of France. The old Cardinal of Bourbon, brother of Anthony of Bourbon, was still living, and him the Catholics now advanced as their candidate in the event of the king's death. To this arrangement, however, Henry refused to give his assent. Meanwhile the Duke of Guise effected an alliance with Philip II. of Spain, by which the latter was made protector of the Catholic League. This measure, so portentous to the Protestants, led in the following year to a renewal of hostilities. A war ensued, called the War of the Three Henrys. For the parties to the conflict were Henry III. of France, Henry of Navarre, and Henry, duke of Guise.

It was at this juncture that the character and ambitions of the Duke of Guise became

THE MORNING AFTER ST. BARTHOLOMEW.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

plainly discoverable in his conduct. He was now lieutenant-general of the League. As prince of the House of Lorraine he might even aspire to royal honors. Since the murder of his father by Poltrot, he had gained an immense popularity with the Catholic masses. He had beaten the foreign allies and French Protestants in battle. From a ghastly wound in his cheek he had won the honorable title of *Le Balafré*, or "the scarred." His leading purpose was to restore and rebuild the Church of Rome on the ruins of all opposition, and incidentally to prevent the Protestant branch of the Bourbons from obtaining the French crown.

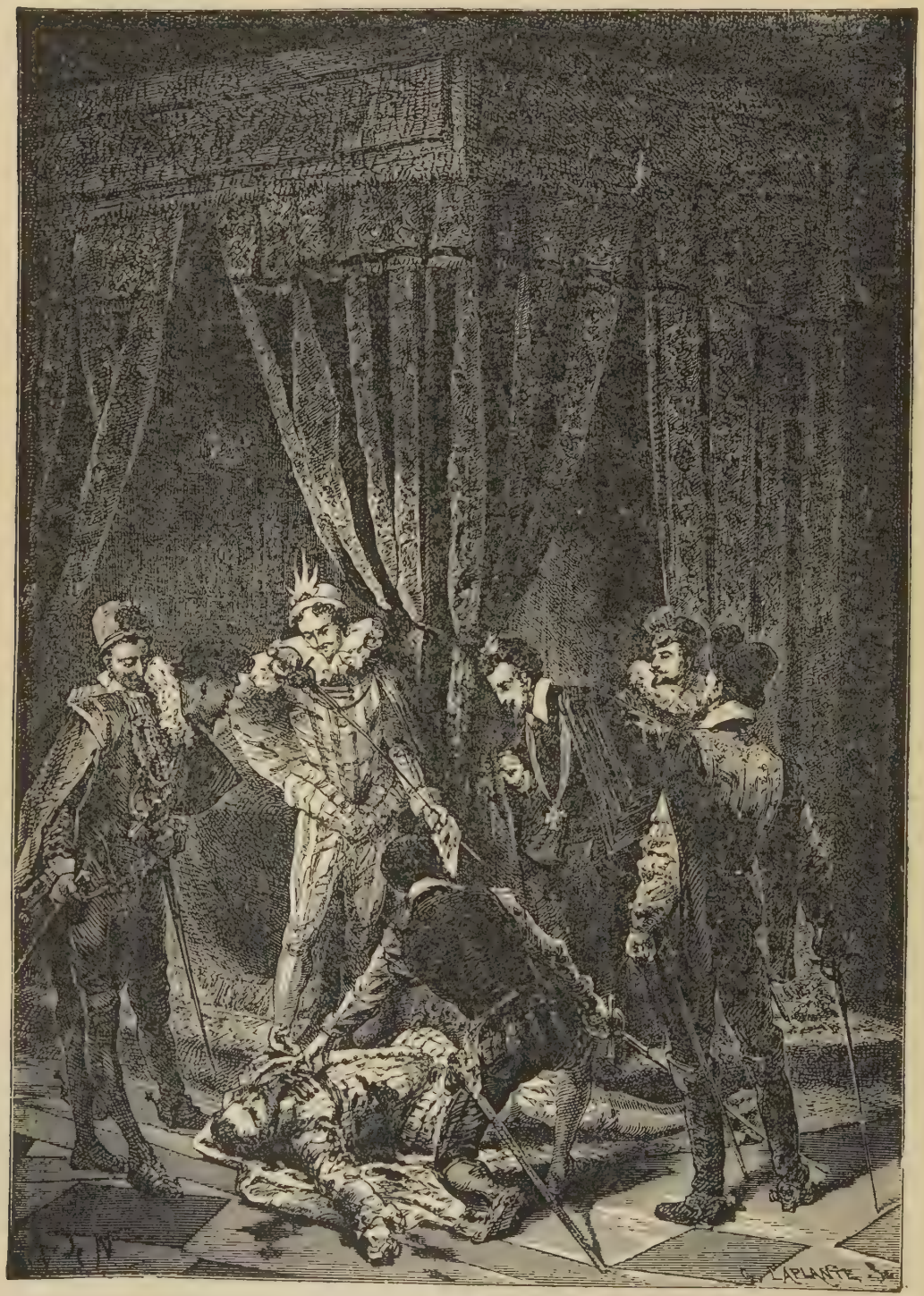
Meanwhile the war continued with varying successes. In October, of 1587, the fortunes of the conflict changed from the side of the king when his army, under command of the Duke of Joyeuse, was confronted by the Protestants under Henry of Navarre. At the town of Coutras, in the Gironde, the issue was decided in a hard fought battle, in which the Duke of Joyeuse was slain and his forces completely routed. The loss of the Leaguers was more than three thousand men, besides their cannon and standards. A month later the Duke of Guise was victorious over the Protestants and their allies in the battle of Auneau, near Chartres. Following up his success, the duke next induced eight thousand Swiss to desert the Protestant army.

The German allies of the Protestants then traversed France, threatening the capital; but the Duke of Guise defeated them and drove them from the kingdom. In the following year the Huguenots sustained an irreparable loss in the death of Condé, greatest of their leaders. And the bitterness of their grief was intensified by the fact that the prince died from poison administered by his servants.

The successes of the Catholics, however, were fully counterbalanced by their own dissensions. For the king and Catharine de Medici had, for good reasons, become incensed at the League, which, from supporting the throne, had now presumed to direct both king and kingdom. Catharine and the Duke of Guise each formed a secret design of securing the succession to their respective families. The general result of these plots was that Henry III. and his government were left naked to all the winds that blew. The powerful Duchess of Montspensier, sister of the Duke of Guise, turned almost the whole court against the king. The latter undertook to keep Guise out of the city. Paris became the scene of a civil conflict. The mob rose. The palace of the king was threatened with destruction. Henry fled to Chartres, but a reconciliation was presently effected on the basis of a convocation of the States-general of the kingdom. It was the purpose of the Duke of Guise that this body, under his own influence, should promote his interests relative to the succession and curtail the ambitions of Catharine and Henry. The king, however, now adopted the *dernier ressort* of destroying his rival by assassination. A plot was formed to call the duke to a council in the palace, and there have him cut down. On the 22d of December, 1588, the council was held. Guise came. Nine of the king's body-guard had been stationed behind the curtains. As the duke entered the chamber the murderers fell upon him with their poniards and he sank to the floor, pierced with many wounds. The assassins then gathered around their victim. The king himself came forth from his place of concealment, and asked, "Is it done?" Seeing the princely form of the dead duke stretched on the floor, he exclaimed: "My God! how tall he is!" Then seeking the bedchamber of his mother, he continued: "I am better this morning! I have become king of France! The king *of Paris* is dead!" And the pious matron replied: "We shall see what will come of it."

Henry now found it necessary to fortify himself with other crimes equally heinous. The Cardinal of Guise was next assassinated in a manner similar to that by which the duke had fallen. But the people were thrown into a frenzy by the perpetration of these horrors. The faculty of the Sorbonne passed a decree that Henry of Valois had forfeited the crown of France. The dynasty established by Philip VI. reeled to its downfall. As a last measure to stay his falling fortunes, the king sent for Henry of Navarre to come to his rescue. Though suspecting the monarch's sincerity, that prince answered the summons, and, in April of 1589, a conference was held in the castle of Plessis les Tours. A reconciliation was effected, and the two Henrys, at the head of forty thousand men, returned to Paris.

That city was now held by the Duke of Mayenne, surviving brother of the Guises. A siege was begun by the royal army, and it appeared that the party of Guise was on the verge of extermination. In this crisis of affairs, however, another crime was committed



MURDER OF THE DUKE OF GUISE.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

by which the whole aspect of current history was again changed. A fanatic monk, named Jacques Clement, sought admission to the king's chamber, and stabbed him to death with a dagger. Before Henry expired, he sent for the king of Navarre, embraced him, urged him to renounce Protestantism, and declared him successor to the throne. He then sank into death, and the House of Valois perished with him. For two hundred and sixty-one years that dynasty had ruled the

ASSASSINATION OF HENRY III.

kingdom. Thirteen princes in the straight line of descent from Charles of Valois had occupied the throne, which now passed to the House of Bourbon in the person of Henry of Navarre, who on the assumption of the crown took the title of HENRY IV.

Four years before the death of Henry III., namely, in 1585, an event of some importance had occurred in another department of human activity. This was the adoption of the reformed calendar in France. The calendar of Julius Cæsar, in use since the founding of the Roman Empire, had occasioned a discrepancy between the civil and the solar year of as much as twelve days. A reform was demanded and the work was undertaken by Pope Gregory XIII. That pontiff issued an edict by which the 5th of October, 1582, was called the 15th. The civil year was made to begin on the 1st of January. Bissextile was to occur twenty-four times in a century for three consecutive centennials, and twenty-five times in the fourth. Thus 1600, 2000, 2400, etc., were to be leap-years, but all other centenary years were to omit the intercalary day in February.

By this ingenious but somewhat complicated method of counting time the error previously existing in the calendar was reduced to a minimum. Under the Gregorian Rule the civil year exceeds the solar year so slightly that the difference will amount to only one day in three thousand eight hundred and sixty-six years. The reform, being a papal measure, was at first adopted in Catholic and rejected in Protestant countries. Not until 1752 did Great Britain, by act of Parliament, at last

consent to the introduction of the reformed method.

On his accession to the throne Henry IV. was opposed on account of his religion. The ultra-Catholic party proclaimed the old cardinal of Lorraine under the title of Charles X., but the movement had little vitality. A large part of the royal army, however, refused to support Henry IV., and he was obliged to retire from before Paris and fall back into

HENRY IV. AT IVRY.

Normandy. The Duke of Mayenne came forth from the city, and pursued the Huguenots, overtaking them near Dieppe. Here, at the town of Arques, a battle was fought, without very decisive results, but soon afterwards, in the southern frontier of Normandy, in the great battle of IVRY, the king completely routed the army of the malcontents and established himself on the throne of France.[1]

Many difficulties, however, remained to be overcome before the star of Bourbon could be regarded as one of the fixed luminaries of history. The Catholics were against him. The whole influence of Spain was exerted to undo the rising House. The Huguenot leaders of the epoch had little ability, and some of them were factious. Nevertheless the genius and character of Henry shone forth conspicuously, and he emerged from every complication with an increase of fame.

The death of Cardinal de Guise, in 1590, removed one factor from the problem. The capture of Melun by the king took away another prop of the opposition. Then Henry laid siege to Paris. The city was soon reduced to a condition bordering on famine, and might have been taken but for the forbearance of Henry. His clemency cost him dearly; for, while he delayed until starvation should bring the Parisians to their senses, the Duke of Parma, one of the ablest military men of the century, arrived with a Spanish army, and compelled the French king to raise the siege. Nor could Henry succeed in bringing his antagonist to battle. For nearly two years it appeared that the fortunes of Bourbon might still suffer shipwreck. In 1592, however, the Duke of Parma died, and Henry's cause again began to emerge from the clouds.

In the course of time it became apparent to Henry IV. that France was at heart a Catholic country, and that his religion, being Huguenot, was the real bar to his universal recognition. Even the papal party assured him that, on his abjuration of Protestantism, they would accept him as their sovereign. Albeit, the king's religious convictions were not of the style of Luther and Zwingli. What he *might* have done, it were useless to conjecture; but, while he hesitated, an event occurred which made a decision necessary.

The States-general assembled in 1593, and, being under the influence of the Catholics, proceeded, in the very face of the time-honored Salic law, to pass a decree tendering the crown of France to Clara Isabella, the Infanta of Spain. The offer was coupled with the condition that the princess should be married to the young Duke of Guise. To Henry the peril was great. He met it by agreeing to abjure Protestantism, and return to the Mother Church. From this moment the tide turned in his favor. For a while the absolution of the Pope was withheld, but even this was finally granted, and, in March of 1594, Henry entered Paris. He had already been crowned at Chartres. In the following year the papal absolution came. Even the Duke of Mayenne finally yielded, and the domestic peace of the kingdom was assured.

The next few years in the history of France were occupied with the Spanish war. The conflict centered about Amiens, which was taken by the Spaniards in 1597, and retaken by the French after a siege of six months' duration. Soon afterwards Pope Clement VIII. undertook a mediation of the difficulties existing between the two kingdoms, and a peace was concluded at Vervins, on the 2d of May, 1598. The Spaniards gave up their conquests, and retired into the peninsula. In September following, Philip II. died, and was succeeded by his son, who took the title of Philip III. The Infanta who had lately been a promising aspirant to the throne of France was obliged to be content with Franche Comté and the Netherlands.

Great was the mortification of the Huguenots when it was known that their great leader, Henry of Navarre, had abandoned their cause. They gloomily accepted the fate by which they had been disappointed of the control of the kingdom. What followed, however, was of more real service to the Protestant party than would have been the possession of the crown. Henry, perceiving

[1] The battle of Ivry has been made forever famous by the genius of Macaulay:

"Now glory to the Lord of Hosts from whom all glories are,
And glory to our sovereign liege, King Henry of Navarre!"

the effects of the terrible blow which his defection had given to the Huguenot cause, had prepared and issued, in April of 1598, the celebrated EDICT OF NANTES, by which freedom of worship and equality of rights were guaranteed to the Protestants. Only a few slight discriminations remained to tell the story of the bitter religious feud which had rent the kingdom for more than half a century. In the practical application of the new law, however, it was claimed by the Huguenots that the Catholics were favored, and themselves excluded from the places of honor in the state.

ENTRANCE OF HENRY IV. INTO PARIS.

All things considered, Henry IV. was the greatest monarch which France had had since the days of Louis XI., if not since the days of Charlemagne. The new sovereign devoted himself assiduously to the duties of his hard-won station. He sought to raise the peasantry of France from the abject condition in which that body had lain since the times of Feudalism. Not less anxiously did he encourage the arts and industries of the kingdom. Manufactures sprang up in various parts under his fostering care. He personally guarded the treasury of the kingdom, and made the wise and efficient Duke of Sully his minister of finance. As the kingdom passed into the sunset of the sixteenth century, the western sky was red with promise of a brighter tomorrow.

In the year 1600, a war broke out with the Duke of Savois, but the conflict was presently brought to a successful conclusion by the French king. The years that followed were among the happiest in the history of France. The storms which had so long disturbed the kingdom sank behind the horizon. The arts flourished; literature began to bud. The peasants cultivated their vineyards. Even the nobles for a while forbore to trouble France with their disputes, jealousies, and ambitions. The French king sought to establish friendly relations with the surrounding kingdoms. The world assumed a less bloody aspect, and the human breast began to expand as if with the vigor of spring.

In his marital relations, Henry IV. was not wholly happy. In the tenth year of his

reign, he divorced his wife Margaret of Valois, and took in her stead Maria de Medici, niece of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The new queen was without abilities, and became the object of the wit and satire of the ladies of the court. Not until 1610, when the king was about to set out on an expedition against the Emperor Rudolph, did he assent to the queen's public coronation. The ceremony was performed with a splendor suitable to the event, and preparations were then made for a royal entry into Paris. On the day following the coronation, the king paid a visit to Sully, who was confined to his hotel by sickness. Returning from the call, the royal equipage was passing along the street, when the way was blocked for a moment by some carts. When the king's carriage stopped, an assassin sprang forth, mounted upon the wheel, and plunged a dagger into Henry's breast. The wounded monarch sank back in his seat, and died without a word. The carriage, dripping with blood, was driven on to the Louvre.

The city of Paris had already taken on some of the character for which she was destined to become so famous. She showed herself capable of agitation, excitement, frenzy, despair. It was the last named passion which she now exhibited. Her favorite king was dead—dead by the hand of an assassin. The white plume of Navarre which had nodded and waved in the thickest of the fight at Ivry, was covered with the dust and blood of common murder. The city was wild with grief and wailing. The murderer was caught and dragged forth. He proved to be a miserable fool, not worth the killing. His name was Ravaillac, but his motive could hardly be discovered. When found, he was still brandishing his bloody knife *á la* Brutus and Cassius. It is in the nature of such fanatics to suppose that they have done the country a service.

Not the least part of the calamity which had befallen France was the fact that Prince Louis, the Dauphin, son of the dead king and Maria de Medici, was now but nine years of age. Before entering upon the circumstances of his accession, and the annals of his reign—events which will be duly considered in the following Book—it is proper to take up the history of the other European states and trace the same to the close of the century. In GERMANY, as will be remembered, the narrative was suspended at the abdication of Charles V.

While that retired monarch was spending his last days in the Monastery of San Yuste, the German Diet convened at Frankfort. In March of 1558, that body proceeded to elect FERDINAND, brother of Charles, to the throne of the Empire. As to religious biases, this prince was less bigoted than his age might seem to warrant. He appears to have regarded the religious quarrels of the century as rather below the dignity of a true king. Though Protestanism found in him a consistent opponent, he was no persecutor, and the Augs-

MARIA DE MEDICI.

burg Treaty was faithfully observed during his reign. Even when he fell under the displeasure of the Pope, he continued to carry out the policy of moderation and justice.

Five years after the accession of Ferdinand the council of Trent finally adjourned. For *eighteen years* that body had dragged through its tedious sessions. The prelates composing the council had talked reform until the word had become a mockery. All measures really tending to better the condition of the Church were borne down either by the opposition of the Popes, or by the cry of heresy. Only one thing was lacking to repeat the folly and shame of the council of Constance, and that was a few heretics to burn at the stake.

But the age, more generous than the Church, refused any longer to cast the apostles of the dawn into the flames. The council proceeded, however, to adopt, elaborate, and define those articles of religious faith which have ever since been regarded as fundamental in the Catholic creed. The celibacy of the clergy was reäffirmed. The doctrine of purgatory and of masses for the dead was declared to be biblical in theory and practice. The worship of saints and relics was justified. The dogma of absolution and the practice of fasting were reässerted as cardinal elements of true Catholicism. Finally, the right of the Church to act as censor over the thought of the world, to direct the movements and pass upon the legitimacy of the products of the human mind, was declared as an indubitable prerogative, and a necessary safeguard of the holy faith. The horrid, mediæval theory that freedom of thinking might thus be crushed under the incubus of authority, was affirmed by the council with as much complaisance as though the body had been sitting in the tenth century at Rome. Out of the hall at the close of the seemingly endless deliberations came a shout which had been raised by the Cardinal of Lorraine, and the echo which reverberated against the crystal wall of the new era said, "Cursed be all heretics!" The nightmare of the Dark Ages went forth as of old to sit like a goblin on the moaning breast of truth, and the huge specter of mental slavery brandished a phantom sword at the young liberties of reviving Europe.

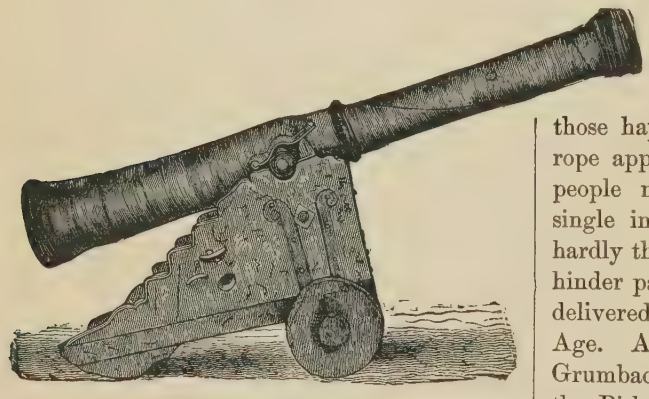
MARRIAGE OF HENRY IV. AND MARIA DE MEDICI.

If we take a casual survey of the religious condition of the German Empire during the reign of Ferdinand I. we shall find that in the national Diet the Catholic element was still predominant. In that body, at the time of the election of Ferdinand, there were more than a hundred members belonging to the priesthood. In the cities of Germany the condition was variable. The towns of the North had nearly all gone over to Protestantism. The archbishops of Bremen and Magdeburg, as well as the bishops of Lübeck, Verdun, and Walberstadt, had renounced Catholicism in favor of the reformed faith. In the districts of Cologne, Treves, Mayence, Worms, and Strasburg, the influence of the Old Church still held a large per cent of the people to the ancient landmarks. The Rhine towns, Baden and Würtemberg, on the contrary, had swung loose from the Catholic moorings and gone over with great unanimity to the Reformation. Even in Upper Austria and Styria the Catholic party was reduced to a minority. Not so, however, in Bavaria. In this principality the ancient Church preserved her empire. The reigning Bavarian family was the House of Wittelsbach, whose members vied with each other in subserviency to Rome. As to the mass of the German people, a great majority of them had left the fold of the Mother Church, never to return.

The most serious foreign complication during the reign of Ferdinand I. was the continuance of the struggle with the Turks. Their great Emperor, Solyman, not only invaded Hungary, but threatened to make his way to the west, and by the seizure of Vienna subvert the political institutions of the German race. Ferdinand perceived that he was unable to cope with his formidable antagonist. He accordingly adopted the policy of temporizing and bribery. In order to secure a cessation of hostilities he gave up half of Hungary to the Turks and agreed to pay an annual tribute of three hundred thousand ducats. Not less serious were the territorial losses which the Empire sustained in the countries east of the Baltic.

ASSASSINATION OF HENRY IV.

Those bleak provinces had once belonged to the Order of Teutonic Knights, and after the downfall of that powerful fraternity had passed under the dominion of a new organization known as the Brothers of the Sword. The Czar Ivan, of Russia, now cast a covetous eye upon these maritime regions, and in 1558 began an invasion. The Knights found themselves unable to stand against him and appealed to the cities of the Hanseatic League for aid. But these selfish corporations, busily engaged in their mercantile pursuits, gave no heed to the appeal. The German Brothers then called upon the national Diet, at that time in session at Frankfort; but that conservative body likewise refused to lend the required aid. In the desperate strait to which they were reduced the Knights next turned to the



OLD SWEDISH LEATHERN CANNON.

Swedes, Danes, and Poles. These enterprising and warlike peoples readily espoused the cause of the Order, not indeed with a view to restoring its ascendency, but with the hope of extending their own territories by conquest. The event corresponded to their ambition. Esthonia was taken by the Swedes and Danes and Livonia fell to the Poles. Only the little province of Courland remained to the German Empire of all its possessions on the eastern shores of the Baltic.

The remaining five years of the reign of Ferdinand I. were comparatively unimportant. He died in 1564, and the crown of the Empire passed to his eldest son, who took the title of Maximilian II. This ruler proved to be one of the most liberal-minded and generous of the German emperors. His religious views were so tolerant that the Protestants entertained a hope that he would leave the Mother Church and join his fortunes with their own. But in this expectation they were disappointed. His disposition of his own children, moreover, was well calculated to please the Catholics; for he sent his son Rudolph to the South to receive a Spanish education, and gave his daughter in marriage to Charles IX., of France. But the evil consequences of these arrangements he sought to mitigate or prevent by prudent counsels wasted on his son-in-law and the king of Spain, whom, had they heeded the wise admonitions of the German ruler, the world would not hold responsible for the butchery of St. Bartholomew and the horrors of the Netherlands.

Like the concluding years of the reign of his predecessor, the epoch of Maximilian II. passed by without notable events. Indeed, it may be said that the last quarter of the sixteenth century was characterized by a number of those happy lulls in which the kings of Europe appeared less gloriously bloody, and the people more prosperous and contented. A single incident may serve to illustrate how hardly the New Europe, still hanging with her hinder parts in the barbarism of the past, was delivered from the brutality of the Middle Age. A certain Knight, named Wilhelm von Grumbach, was dispossessed of his estates by the Bishop of Würzburg. Unable to obtain satisfaction, he waylaid the dignitary and killed him. Grumbach then made his escape into France. Here he persuaded a number of malcontent Franconian exiles to join him in a raid upon the Empire. John Frederick, of Lesser Saxony, was also induced to break the peace in behalf of the adventurers; for he hoped to repossess all Saxony for himself and his family. In 1567 the insurgents, having possession of Gotha, were besieged by an Imperial army. Against such a force it was impossible for the rebels to hold out. John Frederick was taken prisoner and confined during the rest of his life. Grumbach was put to death with torture, and the insurrection ended in the destruction of nearly all who had engaged in it. This outbreak is notable as the last example of private war systematically undertaken in Germany. Henceforth the law against such conflicts, adopted by Max

imilian I. in 1495, was observed, and the old feuds of the German nobles were no longer made the pretext for drawing the sword.

Maximilian held the throne from 1564 to 1576. In the latter year he presided at a national Diet, before which body he declared the religious policy of the Empire to be a simple observance and enforcement of the Treaty of Augsburg. With this the Protestants were satisfied; to this the Catholics were obliged to assent. While still occupied with his duties at the Diet, the Emperor was struck with apoplexy and died without a moment's warning. It was a sad event for the Germans; for the prince who was destined to succeed to the throne had none of the noble traits of his father, and the few elements of liberalism which he may have possessed, had been completely extinguished by his Jesuit teachers in Spain.

RUDOLPH II. came to the throne as the champion of the past. The Protestants of Germany found in him an uncompromising foe. His cold and apathetic disposition was well suited to the work of persecution. If Philip II. had been a German, he might have been Rudolph II., and if Rudolph had been a Spaniard he might have been Philip. One of the first measures adopted by the new Emperor was to annul the statutes of toleration granted by Maximilian. The Protestant Churches were closed, and those of the reformed faith who held public office were displaced to make room for Catholics. Following his lead, the princes of the Empire—or as many of them as held the ancient faith—made a declaration that the Treaty of Augsburg, though the same had been solemnly ratified by a national Diet, had been rendered of no effect by the decisions of the Council of Trent! It was the old theory of setting the Church on top of secular society, the council on top of the Church, and the Pope on top of the council. Hence, the Catholic rulers argued that they might proceed to put down heresy by the sword.

It was not long until the pernicious policy of Rudolph began to bear fruit. In accordance with a plain provision of the Treaty of Augsburg, the Archbishop of Cologne, a Protestant, had married. Incensed at this violation of their dogma of celibacy, the Catholics called on Alexander of Parma, now engaged in the war with the Netherlands, to aid them in driving the archbishop from his see. Parma came with a Spanish army. The benefice of Cologne was wrested from its rightful possessor and conferred on a Catholic; nor had the Protestants, half-paralyzed by the hostility of the government, the power to resist the outrage.

It was fortunate for Germany that the Protestant party was willing to endure wrong rather than go to war. Their forbearance, rather than any justice on the part of the Emperor, gave the nation peace. For more than a half century no war of importance afflicted the country. As usual in such conditions of society, wealth increased, and art and science came with their beneficent train. It was at this epoch that the great apostles of the New Heavens, Kepler and Tycho Brahe, flourished. The former discovered and demonstrated the true laws of planetary motion; and the latter laid for modern scholars the foundations of practical astronomy. Though the knowledge of the times was still mixed with the dross of superstition, though hooded bigotry still cast its monstrous shadow in the sun and descanted with pride on its own deformity, the German mind continued to expand, continued to cherish its old-time hatred of tyranny, continued to advance toward the light.

Rudolph II. occupied the throne of Germany until his death, in January of 1612. During the latter years of his reign, it became evident that a great eruption was at hand. One might see on every side the silent gathering of the forces of Europe for an impending conflict. The states were becoming on one hand a Catholic and on the other a Protestant League. Especially did this tendency manifest itself in Germany. In 1608, the Protestant provinces, provoked by the intolerance and oppression of Rudolph, entered into an alliance called THE UNION; and the Catholic provinces, alarmed at the belligerent attitude of their adversaries, formed themselves into a counter confederacy known as THE LEAGUE. While the public peace was thus threatened by the old religious antagonisms of the people, an insurrection broke out in Hungary, and Rudolph, four years before his death, was obliged to cede the revolted state, together with Austria and Mo-

ravia, to his brother Matthias, who had become the leader of the insurgents. Following the successful example set by the Hungarians, the Protestants of Bohemia next rose in arms, and the Emperor, now greatly weakened by the defection of his own kinsmen, was compelled to issue an edict reäffirming the liberties conceded by the Treaty of Augsburg. It soon appeared, however, that he was insincere, and a second revolt occurred, which cost Rudolph the Bohemian crown. The sovereignty of the country was transferred to Matthias; and with his diminished territories and waning fame the gloomy Emperor went down to the grave, leaving his throne to his brother.

Let us then resume the narrative of events in ENGLAND. In that country the crown descended, on the death of Henry VIII., in 1547, to his son EDWARD VI. This prince was at the time of his accession less than ten years of age. A protectorate became necessary, and the important office of guardian of the king and kingdom was conferred by the executors of Henry's will on Lord Hertford, duke of Somerset. To the cause of Protestantism the choice of protector was of the greatest moment. Somerset was a consistent and able opponent of Rome. What Henry VIII. had done as a matter of policy and passion, was now undertaken as a matter of principle. It was determined to make the English Church at once and forever independent of the papal hierarchy, and to bring the religious doctrine and practice of the Island to the standard of the Reformation. To this end the education of the young king was intrusted to Protestant teachers of the highest probity and talents. A commission was appointed to draw up a Book of Common Prayer for use in the Churches. At the head of the body were Cranmer and Ridley. It was proposed to make the new liturgy conform as nearly as possible to what was conceived to be the usages of the primitive fathers of the Church, and at the same time to retain so much of the Romish form of worship as the commissioners considered to be authorized by the Scriptures. Without entering into the merits of the English Prayer Book, viewed as an aid to devotion, it may be safely averred that the service rendered thereby to the English Language has been beyond estimate. The grave and elevated forms of our speech, its strength in assertion, its depth in feeling, and its dignity in apostrophe, were cystallized in this formative period of the national religion, and found a full and sonorous utterance in the early handbook of English Protestantism.

All the religio-political quarrels of the times of Henry VIII. availed not half so much to shake the dominion of Rome in England as did the work of the ministers of Edward. The people went over, after the German fashion, to the reformed faith. A majority of the nobles, moved by various motives of resentment, self-interest, or conscience, abjured Rome, and became pillars in the new English ecclesiasticism. The nation was won to the Protestant faith.

It will be remembered that Henry VIII. selected as the prospective wife of his son the princess Mary Stuart of Scotland. He provided in his will that his executors should see to it that his wishes in this regard should be fulfilled. When in pursuance of this object the Duke of Somerset opened negotiations with the Scots, he found that his own religious biases had prejudiced his cause at Edinburgh. His demand for the hand of Mary was met with a refusal. In so far as the Catholic influence predominated in Scotland, it was determined that the heiress to the throne should never become the queen of so heretical an island as England—the spouse of so heretical a king as Edward VI. Hereupon the irate Somerset determined to compel compliance with his wishes. He raised a large army, invaded Scotland, defeated the Scottish forces, and would have soon succeeded in his purpose had not the mutterings of trouble in the home kingdom obliged him to return. The Scots availed themselves of this happy deliverance from peril to send away the cause of dispute, namely, the royal maiden whom Somerset had come to woo by force for his young master, to France, whither she was hastily sent and committed to the care of her uncles, the Guises. Mary was at this time but six years of age. Her education was undertaken at the French court, and there she remained under betrothal to the Dauphin Francis until that prince, in 1558, made her first his wife and then his queen.

Returning from his fiasco in Scotland the

Protector, Somerset, found that his brother, Lord Seymour, high admiral of the kingdom, had made a conspiracy among the discontented with a view to taking the protectorship for himself. Seymour was a man of the greatest abilities, and his talents were not more conspicuous than his skill in politics. He had married the queen dowager, Catharine Parr, but that royal and sensible widow had died, whereupon the admiral sought the hand of the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn. It is thought that Seymour's suit would have succeeded but for the opposition of the ministers, notably the Protector himself, who was little disposed to witness the gratification of his brother's vaulting ambition. While Somerset and Seymour were thus arrayed against each other, rivals in all things, agreeing in nothing, a new actor appeared on the stage in the person of Dudley, earl of Warwick. Conceiving the design of rising on the ruin of the two brothers he edged on the one against the other, and presently compassed the seizure, condemnation, and execution of Seymour. But the reäction against Somerset was not so violent as to become revolutionary, and Dudley's hopes were for the time disappointed.

Meanwhile the change in the national religion went on steadily and became organic. A law was passed against the enforced celibacy of the clergy, and this was soon followed by another statute forbidding the further practice of the Romish form of worship. To the latter act the Princess Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. and Catharine of Aragon, refused obedience; for, as has already been shown, she was a Catholic by the very necessity of her birth. An issue was thus made up squarely between King Edward and his half-sister. At first the government proceeded against Mary's chaplains and teachers, but their imprisonment did not deter her from holding to the old worship. She was then threatened with punishment unless she should desist; but this only incited her to appeal to her cousin, the Emperor Charles. She and her friends laid a plan to fly from the kingdom, but Edward, deeming it imprudent to press matters so far, gave orders that his sister should be detained, and that she should have the right of worshipping as she would—*in private.*

One of the most important measures of the first years of Edward VI. was the suppression of the remaining monasteries and nunneries of the kingdom. This measure, with the hardships which it entailed, well illustrates the lesson that the evil done by superstition and bigotry falls upon the heads of the innocent, even to the tenth generation. It may well be conceded that the people of the religious houses in England, at the middle of the sixteenth century had done no serious harm to the human race. But the system of which they were the fruitage *had* arrayed itself for centuries against the dearest liberties and best hopes of men. In 1549 the helpless monks and nuns were turned out of doors to suffer for the sins of the *system* rather than for their own. Nor did the hardship cease with those who were dispossessed. The peasants, who for a long time had rented and tilled the lands of the Church, paying but a trifle for the privilege, were well-nigh ruined in the common catastrophe of confiscation. And the race of vagrants and mendicants who in every age have flourished about the gates of monasteries and similar institutions, were scattered in a half-starved condition to the ends of the earth. It is conceded by all that the Protector Somerset did all in his power to alleviate the distresses occasioned by the disestablishment of the old religion, but it was impossible then, as ever, to destroy without inflicting pain and anguish.

The state of the kingdom incident to this hard but necessary measure gave good opportunity to those disaffected towards the Protector's government to conspire against him. A plot, headed by Dudley of Warwick, was formed which soon gathered such elements around the central core of opposition that Somerset was driven to resign. His enemies pursued him vindictively. He was imprisoned in the Tower, deprived of all his dignities, heavily fined for alleged malfeasance in office, and finally set at liberty a ruined old man. Warwick seized the regency, but fearing that a reaction might deprive him of the power which he had gained by violence, he determined that Somerset must be destroyed. A charge was accordingly trumped up that the ex-Protector was engaged in a treasonable conspiracy to assassinate the regent and the privy

councilors of the kingdom. A condemnation followed as a matter of course, and Somerset was led to the block.

Without the moderation of his predecessor, Warwick now proceeded with intemperate violence to establish his own power over the kingdom. Edward VI. fell under his sway, and when the powerful Dudley perceived that the health of the young king was failing, and that the male line of Tudor was about to perish with him, he conceived the project of diverting the crown from the family of Henry VIII. and securing it to his own. For such a proceeding a genealogical excuse was necessary. It will be remembered that Mary, sister of Henry VIII., had become queen dowager of France. Her family was now, through her son Francis, represented by her granddaughter, the Lady Jane Grey. The grandmother had had for her second husband the Duke of Suffolk, and the female line was thus strengthened by a strong English element. Warwick, who had now been raised to the Earldom of Northumberland, procured the marriage of the Lady Jane to his son, Guildford Dudley, and the scheme of the ambitious father was to secure the succession to Lady Jane and her offspring. In this purpose he was assisted by certain acts of the intemperate Henry VIII.; for that willful and passionate monarch had in a fit of anger, first at Catharine of Aragon, and afterwards at Anne Boleyn, declared their respective daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, illegitimate. With the first half of this declaration King Edward was

LADY JANE GREY.

disposed to agree; for his own deep-seated Protestantism had lost all patience with his obstinate Catholic sister; but as it related to the Princess Elizabeth, he had many compunctions. Nevertheless, overborne by the domineering Warwick, the king finally assented to the prospective change of dynasty, and ratified the scheme by which the crown was to descend to Lady Jane.[1]

Such was the condition of affairs when, in 1553, Edward's health gave way, and he sank rapidly into the grave. He had not yet attained his seventeenth year. His abilities were such that, had he lived to full maturity, he might have enrolled his name among those of the greatest kings of England. As it was, the vigor of his government had depended on that of his ministers. Notwithstanding the jealousies and quarrels of the latter, the public welfare of the kingdom had been cared for with great zeal. In commerce, especially, great progress had been made towards the establishment of that maritime dominion which Great Britain has ever since enjoyed. The ships of young Edward carried the pennants of St. George into all seas. It was the beginning of that adventure wherewith the daring seamen of England tempted every known shore, and sought others not yet discovered. Sir Hugh Willoughby went forth with a fleet in quest of a north-east passage to India. Though he and all on board of his own two ships were frozen to death on the bleak borders of Lapland, Richard Chancellor, commander of the remaining vessel of the squadron, held out during the winter in the harbor of Archangel, and returned in safety to England, carrying with him the first thread of the commercial cable which was to bind his own country with distant Russia.

Nor should the history of Edward's brief reign be closed without reference to the further work accomplished by Cranmer and the Protestants in the development of the English Church. It became necessary for them still more to sever the dogmatic ties by which they were bound to Rome. To this end a new creed was formulated, consisting at first of Forty-two, and afterwards—as amended—of Thirty-nine Articles. This celebrated paper, embodying the doctrines of insular Protestantism, became to the faith of England what the Augsburg Confession was to the Lutherans of Germany. Nor was the difference between the two great creeds of Protestantism so marked as to call for serious comment or awaken bitter controversy. Indeed, in the preparation of the English Catechism, Cranmer was guided almost wholly by the similar work of Luther and Melanchthon. Humiliating it is to record the fact that even so great, and in some respects so liberal, a mind as that of Cranmer stooped to the miserable work of persecution. But he could not rise above the bigotry engendered of his religious theory. Two Anabaptists arrested for heresy were condemned in his court, and, in spite of the remonstances of the king, were burned at the stake.

As soon as it was known that Edward was dead, the Duke of Northumberland made all haste in promoting his scheme for a change of dynasty. He sped to Sion House, where the Lady Jane resided, and hailed her as queen. But the princess was unwilling to enter upon so dangerous, not to say treasonable, an enterprise. She declared that Henry's daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, had claims superior to her own. None the less she yielded to the will of Northumberland, who had her proclaimed as queen of England. She was given apartments in the Tower, and for ten days held the dubious glory of the crown. But no enthusiasm followed the proclamation, and it became more and more apparent that the movement of Northumberland, unsupported as it was, would end in ignominy. Meanwhile the Princess Mary came from Suffolk to claim the throne of her father and was met with an outburst of applause. The loyalty of the English people to the House of Tudor was greater than their dread of a Catholic queen, especially since the alternative lay between Mary with her Catholicism and Lady Jane, under the control of the Dudleys.

Seeing the whole tide turning, or already turned to Mary, Northumberland now sought to make his peace with those whom he had mortally offended. But his supplications were all in vain. The murder of Somerset rose against him and intensified the anger of his enemies. He was seized by the order of the

[1] For genealogical claims of Jane Grey to the throne of England see Diagram, p. 378.

queen, tried, condemned, and beheaded on Tower Hill. His son Guildford and his wife, the Lady Jane, were also arrested and condemned to imprisonment.

Thus in her thirty-seventh year was MARY, daughter of Henry VIII. and Catharine of Aragon, called to the throne of England. She possessed perhaps as few of the elements of popularity as any princess of the century. Her religion was repugnant to a great majority of the people over whom she was called to reign. She was without accomplishments. Her education had been neglected. She was the disowned daughter of a popular king. Her person was ungainly, the expression of her countenance forbidding. She lacked only the French audacity and the Italian intrigue to be the Catharine de Medici of England. Nor was her disposition improved by the fact that she herself had been the victim of gross abuse. Her father had wronged her and cast a stigma on her birth. Her brother and his ministers had tried to compel her to abandon that religion which was the only safeguard of her own and her mother's honor. Besides *another* daughter of Henry VIII. in all respects unlike herself, whom, indeed, she could not recognize without acknowledging that her own birth was unhallowed, sat in the distance and abided her time.

MARY TUDOR.

At the first, however, the new queen showed a disposition inclined to clemency. The aged Duke of Norfolk, who had lain in prison for six years, was set at liberty. Young Courtenay, also son of the Marquis of Exeter, was liberated and received at court. Bishops Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonstall, who for their adherence to the Catholic faith had been imprisoned by the ministers of Edward, were in like manner released and restored to their bishoprics. It thus appeared that the queen was in religious matters disposed to know nor Greek nor Trojan until the prisons of the kingdom had given up their victims.

But it soon became apparent that the fundamental principle of the new reign was to secure the reconciliation of the kingdom with the Pope. The Holy Father was equally anxious to gain the desired end. With a view to furthering the design of the queen he dispatched as his legate to England that Cardinal de la Pole who has already been mentioned as a factor in the contemporaneous history of France. Meanwhile the queen her-

self set the example of going to mass, praying before the holy images, and performing the other services required of a devout woman in the Church of Rome. To the Protestants these things boded evil. They foresaw the gathering storm, and many of them, leaving the kingdom, went into foreign parts. Not so, however, did Archbishop Cranmer. Though advised to make his escape from England, he steadfastly refused to do so, looking his fate in the face.

The Catholics now set to work diligently to devise such a marriage alliance for the queen as should make secure the temporary advantage which they had gained by her accession. After some deliberation it was agreed that the most fitting husband to be found in all Europe was Philip II. of Spain. When this project, however, was noised abroad, a great excitement was produced throughout the kingdom. The spirit of Protestantism was thoroughly aroused by the intelligence that the queen whom those of the reformed faith had accepted because she was of the blood royal and in hope that she might in some measure prove worthy of her line was about to be wedded to the most bigoted prince in Christendom. An insurrection broke out in Kent, where Sir Thomas Wyatt, who had recently returned from Spain, spreading abroad the true story of Philip's life and character, had gathered to his standard an army of four thousand men, with whom he proposed to enter London, dethrone the queen, and confer the crown on Lady Jane Gray. The revolt, however, was suppressed. Wyatt and four hundred of his followers were taken, condemned, and executed.

This movement gave good excuse to the now triumphant party of Rome to proceed against the Lady Jane herself. That unfortunate princess was accordingly condemned to die. Her last hours were tormented by a priest sent by the queen to convert the poor victim from her heresy. But Lady Jane remained true to the end. Her last night was spent in prayer and in writing a Greek letter to her sister. She even refused a farewell interview with her husband, lest human anguish might break her resolve to die a martyr. On the scaffold she stood a heroine, brave, composed, and beautiful, and then died without a stain or shudder. Her father was also executed. It became the policy of the queen to exterminate the opposition, as the best means of building her throne on a firm foundation, and of restoring the ancient Church to her lost dominion in England.

In the mean time, the preparations went forward for the queen's marriage with Archduke Philip. In 1555 a fleet was sent out to bring that royal and incipient tyrant to his English nuptials. So hostile, however, were the officers and crew of the vessel that the admiral, fearing that possible violence and probable insult would be offered to the Spanish prince, declined to receive him on board. But Philip came at length, and the marriage was celebrated at Westminster. It now appeared that Sir Thomas Wyatt had told the truth; for the newly made consort of the queen was so haughty, so reserved, so little like the English princes with whom the people had been familiar, so contemptuous in his bearing towards those whom he met, evidently regarding the English as a race of insular boors,—that the hearts and faces of all were turned from him in disgust. To the papist faction, however, the event was full of good omens. For that party saw in imagination, rising from the union now consummated, a new line of Catholic sovereigns, in whose veins would flow the orthodox blood of the South, and under whom the heretical Island should be restored to its ancient moorings close along side of the old ship of Rome.

The English parliament looked with an ever increasing jealousy upon this scheme for the destruction of the independence of the kingdom. The conduct of the queen and her husband gave abundant cause of alarm. In collusion with Gardiner, they formed a plot for the extirpation of heresy in England. A reign of persecution began under the auspices of this trio as bitter as any which had ever been witnessed in the Island. A willing tool in the bloody business was Bishop Bonner, who, without compunction or mercy, proceeded in person to superintend the execution of the heretics. During the remaining three years of Mary's reign, nearly three hundred victims of his cruelty perished in the flames. Among the most conspicuous of these English martyrs were Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester, and Nicholas Ridley, bishop of Rochester.

Though among the most pious and venerable men of the kingdom, they were condemned by the relentless Gardiner, and, on the 16th of October, 1555, were burned at the stake in the public square before Baliol College, Oxford. The scene was among the most shocking ever witnessed by the eyes of men. The two martyrs were led to the place of execution with bags of gunpowder tied to their bodies. They encouraged each other on the way. Seeing his companion falter in the presence of the mortal agony which they must now endure, the heroic Latimer called to him from the flames as if in cheerful exhortation: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as I trust shall never be put out." The powder bags exploded, and the blackened, lifeless mass of the two victims of infernal bigotry sank into the flames and were consumed to ashes.

Not satisfied with the slow going process of destruction, Philip and the queen next undertook to introduce the Spanish Inquisition. But this horrible project was met with such strenuous opposition that he was obliged to desist. Meanwhile Gardiner died and was succeeded by Archbishop Heath. The latter immediately proceeded to carry out the wishes of the queen respecting Cranmer. That great prelate was now destined to become the central figure in another tragedy of fire. Being condemned to death, the archbishop, in a moment of weakness, affixed his signature to a paper acknowledging the supremacy of the Pope. But even this would not suffice. The queen demanded that he should make a public recantation of the errors he had promulgated. For this purpose he was brought forth to a church where he arose in the presence of the people and proceeded to bewail his own weakness and sin in having quailed before the ordeal of fire. He recanted his recantation, went boldly to the stake, and when the fagots were fired around him, thrust out the hand with which he had signed the papist document and held the offending member in the flames until it was consumed. Like Latimer and Ridley he then gave up the ghost in the fiery furnace of martyrdom.

The next stage in the Romish programme was the appointment of Cardinal de la Pole to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. The queen had now become so insane in her purpose to extirpate heresy from the kingdom, that she was sorely displeased with the *moderation* of her new Archbishop! Perhaps her temper was rendered still more intolerable by the manifest apathy of her husband towards herself. Tired of her uncongenial company, he left her in the latter part of 1555 and went over to Flanders. The papists had the mortification to perceive that their well laid plan to secure a Catholic prince for the succession to the English crown was destined to come to naught. For the queen remained childless. Nature had issued her eternal fiat against the reproduction of monsters.

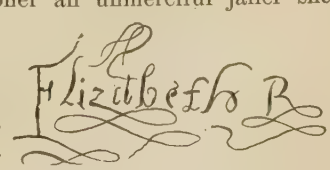
It will be recalled that at this juncture, namely, in 1556, the disappointed Charles V. concluded to exchange the vision of universal dominion for the shadow of an apple tree in the garden of San Yuste. This determination carried into effect, called the Archduke Philip to the throne of Spain and the Netherlands. Meanwhile the unhappy Mary, finding herself deserted, hearing the murmurs of discontent on every hand, seeing the ancient Empire which she had sought to restore about to suffer a double subversion by her own childlessness, and the consequent certain accession of her hated Protestant half-sister Elizabeth, sank through a two years' miserable decay and died on the 17th of November, 1558. On the same day the Cardinal de la Pole, who in a more benign age would have shone conspicuous for his talents and virtues, though never for the system which he professed, went down to the grave with the unloved mistress whom he had tried to serve, and against whose name the pen of history has written the terrible epithet of *Bloody*.

The English people scarcely made a decent show of grief for the death of the queen. Only the papists were sincere in their sorrow. As for the rest, their thoughts were with the living, and cries of "God save Queen Elizabeth!" arose on every hand. It is narrated that even in Parliament, when the news came that Mary was certainly dead, the members forgot themselves and exulted in the sudden deliverance of the kingdom. All faces were at once turned towards Hatfield, where Elizabeth was then

residing. The princess was at this time twenty-five years of age. She had inherited her father's will and energy; nor was her mother's culture undiscoverable in her character. Her most striking characteristic was self-possession. As a man she would have made one of the greatest politicians of any age or country. As a woman, she was destined to become the most distinguished queen of the century.

The enthusiasm with which she was received by her subjects was well calculated to flatter her pride and stimulate her ambition. Nor would it have been wonderful if under the conditions of her accession and the powerful stimulus of popularity she had begun her reign with such acts as the majority of queens would have visited upon their people. Not so, however, Elizabeth. Notwithstanding that she had been disowned by one king—her father—and neglected by another—her brother; notwithstanding the fact that her whole life had been a series of insults most galling to any high-spirited person and intolerable to one of her rank and sex, she entered upon the duties of her high station with a passionless disregard of the past and an oblivion of her own wrongs for which all history could hardly afford a parallel. Even Sir Henry Benefield, in whose custody she had been lodged, and who had treated her with unbecoming severity, was dismissed with the cutting remark that whenever she had occasion to employ for some state prisoner an unmerciful jailer she would send for *him!* It was the first of many such comments which this remarkable woman and more remarkable queen was destined to

ELIZABETH OF ENGLAND.



ELIZABETH'S SIGNATURE.

drop as the finality to some dangerous feud or bloody quarrel. Even the tyrannical and blood-stained Bonner was permitted to escape with his life; though Elizabeth, with good reason, would never allow him to come into her presence.

Great was the religious reäction which now ensued in the kingdom. The whole force of the new administration was at once bent to the task of restoring Protestantism to the status which it had occupied at the death of Edward VI. The gory stains of Mary's reign were quietly effaced, and it is believed that not a single drop of blood was shed in the beneficent revolution which was affected under the queen's personal direction. Not even the property rights of the papists were in any wise disturbed. Only the irreconcilable of the irreconcilables, such as Bishop Bonner, who was imprisoned for life, were punished for their contumacy.

Scarcely had Elizabeth taken the throne when half of Europe, to say nothing of her own kingdom, became suddenly interested in procuring for her a fitting husband. Never was a work of self-sacrifice less appreciated by the beneficiary. It would hardly have been thought that the daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn could have displayed the character, prudence, and resolution which were ever exhibited by Elizabeth in this trying matter. First came her loving brother-in-law, Philip II., of Spain, and would fain prostrate himself a second time at the feet of English royalty. But English royalty had had enough of *him*. He soon found that he had now to deal with a personage very different in her moods and aspirations from his former wife. For a while the queen toyed with her suitor. It was her interest to keep him for a season at bay before refusing the *honor* of his hand. When this policy could be followed no further, she declined the flattering offer, and at the same time announced to Parliament her determination to live and die a maiden.

From the early years of her reign, Elizabeth was haunted by a shadow out of the North. Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, granddaughter of James IV. and Margaret, sister of Henry VIII., laid claim, in virtue of her descent, to the crown of England. Of course, such a claim was absurd except on one hypothesis, and that was that Elizabeth was illegitimate. Such a theory was not likely to be favorably received by the queen or the English people. Mary proceeded to assume the arms and title of Queen of England, and this menace laid the foundation and reared the superstructure of the burning jealousy and hatred between the rivals — a hatred which could only be quenched by the destruction of the one or the other.

After the death of her first husband, Francis II. of France, Mary, who had been reared amid the sunshine and glory of Paris, returned with a shudder to the gloom of Edinburgh. To her gay and cultured nature the change was intolerable. Meanwhile, the Reformation had spread into the North, and old John Knox stood like a figure rampant on the shield of Scotch theology. In him the forbidding aspect of the country and the austerity of the national character were intensified, and to this was added the still darker shadow of the Genevan doctrines. The Scotch took naturally to the system which seemed to reflect the joyless moods of their own inner life. Catholicism went to the wall. Mary's horror at the sullen temper of the people whom she was called to rule was increased by the fact of the awful heresy into which she saw them plunged and plunging. The beautiful and fascinating widow of Francis II. found herself alone in her own kingdom, though supported by the whole Catholic world without and beyond.

On the other hand, the Queen of England grew in favor with her subjects, and in reputation with the neighboring powers. Her energy was equaled by her prudence. She made herself familiar with the needs of the kingdom. She entered into the spirit of the people, and consulted their wishes. She encouraged manufactures and commerce, drew in and reïssued the coin of the kingdom, reorganized the army, filled the arsenals with arms, called the ablest men to her councils, and took every possible measure to increase the maritime strength of England. All this she did in a way so adroit and politic that the wisest statesmen of the times perceived not how the ambitious queen, under the immense popularity of her government, was still maintaining and even enlarging all the prerogative

which had been claimed and exercised by the Tudors since the days of her grandfather. She managed to be, and to be considered, at once imperious and liberal, royal and condescending, haughty and generous.

Among those who were called to responsible positions in the English government may be particularly mentioned the celebrated William Cecil, who, with the title of Lord Burleigh, was made high treasurer of the kingdom — a man of the greatest abilities and the highest integrity. Not inferior to him in character was Sir Francis Walsingham, who, after being twice sent on missions to France, was appointed privy councilor and one of the secretaries of state. Less happy was the queen in the choice of him who, in the early years of her reign, was regarded as her personal favorite. This was the accomplished, but morally delinquent, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, son of that ambitious Earl of Northumberland who lost his head in the reign of Mary. The younger Dudley, by his courtly bearing and assiduous flatteries, won the favor of his queen, and continued to bask in the sunshine of the court, shadowed now and then by a passing cloud, for the first thirty years of her reign. He flourished not, however, without a rival. For the soldierly Ratcliffe, earl of Sussex, by his greater sincerity and devotion, occasionally obtruded his massive form between Leicester and the light.

Elizabeth was not without her whims and caprices. Her leading idiosyncrasy related to marriage. Neither would she enter in herself, or permit others within the range of her influence to do so. Many suitors came to her court, and she permitted them one after another to dance attendance in the royal precincts, only at last to flutter away like moths with singed wings. At the first, her ministers joined with Parliament and Parliament with the people in urging upon her the necessity of reëstablishing the imperiled line of Tudor by choosing a husband. But she would

MARY STUART AND FRANCIS II.
Drawn by Vierge.

not; and those who sought to fathom her motives and remove her objections only succeeded in arousing her anger. The question became a forbidden topic in the palace, and was bruited by none except those who were willing to encounter a storm.

Notwithstanding the bitter feelings which existed between Elizabeth and Mary Stuart, an outward semblance of courtesy and affection was maintained between them. As for Mary, she was, unlike her royal kinswoman, not only willing but anxious to enter a second time into marriage. In deference to Elizabeth, she submitted the question to her; but the English queen put obstacles in the way of every proposal, until at last the Queen of Scots chose her own husband in the person of her cousin Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley. This distinguished nobleman was himself a Tudor through the female line; for he was the son of Margaret Douglas, daughter of Lord Angus and Margaret, sister of Henry VIII. In case of the death of both Mary and Elizabeth, Darnley would himself become heir to the English crown.

MARY STUART.

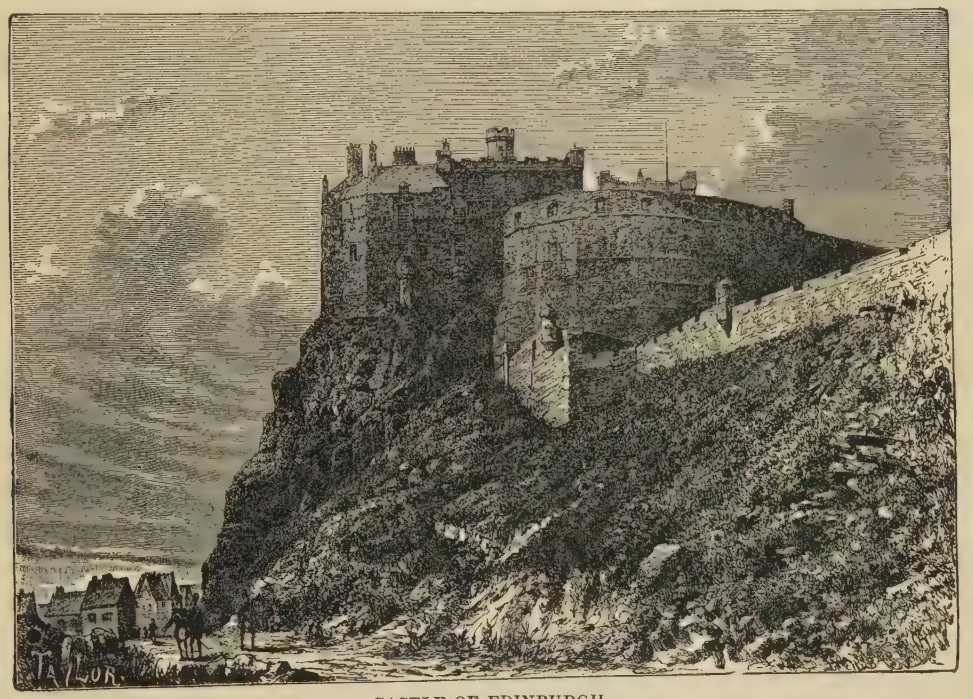
It was clear, therefore, that since Elizabeth had determined to remain unmarried, this union of the Scottish queen with Lord Darnley would probably result in the transfer of England to the House of Stuart. It is not wonderful, therefore, that the measure adopted by her rival was exceedingly distasteful to Elizabeth. Nor did the marriage with Darnley bring any happiness to Mary. True, the promised heir was born; but the father was a man so cold, austere, and gloomy that the queen's affection for him, if any she ever had, soon turned to aversion and disgust. For a season, she took no pains to conceal her growing dislike for her dull and repellent husband.

Meanwhile there came to the Scottish court a certain Italian musician named David Rizzio, whose accomplishments and southern manners first amused and then captivated the wayward queen. The matter of her attachment for her favorite became notorious, and the Scotch Presbyterian councilors were profoundly scandalized by the conduct of their sovereign. Amid such surroundings the foolish love-fit of Mary could have only one ending—murder. On a certain occasion while she with her ladies and Rizzio were at supper Lord Darnley, who had sense enough to be jealous, burst with a band of armed men into the queen's apartment. The situation revealed itself in a moment. Rizzio flew to the queen and vainly clung to her for protection. In spite of her imperious attitude in attempting to defend her favorite he was thrust through with the swords of the assailants and his life-blood spurted over the tapestry of the royal chamber. It was not to be expected that such a deed would go unpunished. Revenge, however, was more easily to be obtained in a manner similar to the crime than by the uncertain process of a judicial investigation.

From the moment of Rizzio's death Darnley was a doomed man. Mary had enough of the Guise in her blood and education to warrant the expectation of another crime in the high life of Scotland. It appears that she deliberately determined that Darnley should die the

Death. She refused to receive him into her presence or to hear any excuses calculated to mitigate or explain the deed which he had done. At the same time she took into her confidence and admitted to her secret purpose a certain infamous nobleman named James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell. With him she made a conspiracy to destroy Darnley and substitute her confederate in his place. The offcast husband was persuaded, *for the benefit of his health*, to make his sleeping apartments in an out-of-the-way house in a lonely field near Edinburgh. When this part of the programme was carried into effect the queen made it in the way to absent herself from the city in a convenient attendance upon the wedding of one of her bridesmaids. During her absence the lone house of Darnley, called the kirke of the field, was blown up with gunpowder, and he himself perished miserably in the ruins. The public finger was at once pointed to Bothwell as the perpetrator of the crime.

That ignoble personage, as if to divert the attention of the people, and with the pretense of securing the queen against a like destruction, carried her to the castle and shut her in in a sort of nominal imprisonment. She resisted neither the captor nor the captivity. On the contrary, she proceeded in the very face of a public sentiment amounting to abhorrence to accept the bloody hand of Bothwell in marriage. This was more than the Scots could stand. She who had begun by marrying first a king and then a noble dolt had now ended by opening the door of her bedchamber to a detested criminal. An insurrection broke out under the lead of Lords Morton and Murray. The indignant Northland renounced the queen and arrayed itself under the banners of the insurgents. In vain did Mary attempt to stand against the storm which her violation of the laws of society had called forth. Not even the royal army, paid from her own treasury, would fight to maintain her cause. Finding herself virtually abandoned, she gave herself up to Morton and Murray and was imprisoned in the castle of Lochleven. Not satisfied with her over throw and humiliation, the rebellious Lords next compelled her to sign a paper of abdication in favor of her infant James, son of the hated Darnley. The royal scion was accordingly crowned with the title of JAMES VI., and Murray was made regent of the kingdom.



CASTLE OF EDINBURGH.

In the general collapse of Mary's government the Earl of Bothwell made his escape

and took to the sea. His crime against his country was succeeded by another against mankind; for he became a pirate and ran a desperate career for a season, until he was arrested and imprisoned in Denmark. Becoming insane he dragged out a miserable existence of ten years and died. As for Queen Mary she was little disposed to accept the prison to which she had been assigned by her half brother, the regent. Escaping from confinement she raised an army of royalists, and gave battle to Murray at Longside, but the regent's Presbyterians easily overpowered her forces and she took to flight. Mounted on a swift horse she spurred away in the direction of England. Coming to a small stream which divided the two kingdoms, she was about to dash into the dominions of her rival, when the Bishop of St. Andrews, who had accompanied her flight, besought her not to venture on so hazardous a step. Mary, however, preferred to trust the clemency of Elizabeth rather than that of the regent. She accordingly crossed into England, proceeded to Workington in Cumberland and thence to Carlisle. Elizabeth, on receiving the news of this startling business in the North, and of the arrival of the royal fugitive within her borders, gave to that lady of broken marriage vows and fortunes a cordial reception.

It was not long, however, after Mary's arrival in England until her presence in that kingdom became the source and center of one of the strangest political complications in modern history. Doubtless Elizabeth was gratified that her dangerous rival had been reduced to so low an ebb of fortune. Doubtless the English queen did not clearly perceive what her own interests demanded respecting this fugitive daughter of James Stuart. Doubtless her conduct, shifting and uncertain as it was, was the result, in part at least, of personal motives rather than such reasons as a queen might give in a like condition of affairs. Be these matters as they may, certain it is that Elizabeth first sent for Mary and then refused to receive her until she should clear herself of the charges which were brought against her by her Scottish subjects. It was, of course, impossible for Mary Stuart to remove the stains from her escutcheon. It therefore pleased the English queen to send her into a sort of *quasi* imprisonment at Bolton Hall in Yorkshire, and Lady Scrope was ordered to accompany her in her captivity.

In order to investigate the alleged crimes for which Mary had been driven from her throne and kingdom, a Joint High Commission was appointed to sit at York. The proceedings, however, were characterized by extreme insincerity and double dealing, alike on the part of the regent Murray, who conducted the prosecution, and Mary's lawyers who defended her. As a result, the charges against the Queen of Scots were neither proved nor disproved. The prosecution failed to convict her of being privy to the murder of Darnley, and on the other hand the naked facts in the premises were well-nigh sufficient to implicate her in that crime. This ambiguous issue of the trial gave good opportunity for the display of Elizabeth's disposition respecting her "loving sister," as she was wont to call her and be called in turn. The Tudor declared that since Mary had not been exculpated from the crimes written against her name, it would be sound policy and thorough justice to detain her in captivity. Mary was accordingly assigned to the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, by whom she was taken to Tutbury, in the county of Stafford, and put into confinement.

Her imprisonment, however, was not severe. She was permitted to receive visitors; nor did the captive queen fail to employ all of those arts for which her education had so well fitted her to charm those who came into her presence, and to instill into their minds the conviction of her innocence. As a matter of course, the papal party throughout christendom espoused her cause, and carefully disseminated the belief that she was a martyr to intrigue, and a victim of cruel persecution. It was easy to allege that Elizabeth's course toward the royal captive was the result of fear and jealousy. It thus happened that while the papists rallied around the Queen of Scots, and began in all countries to lay plots for her restoration to the throne of Scotland and ultimate seizure of the English crown, with the overthrow and ruin of Elizabeth, the Protestants supported the latter with equal zeal and steadfastness.

Within the limits of England the most powerful nobleman favoring the cause of Stuart

was the Duke of Norfolk. Him the Queen of Scots received into her most secret councils. He became the sharer of her designs, and the twain, backed as they were by the Romish Church, made a conspiracy, the cardinal points of which were the liberation of Mary from prison, the dethronement of Elizabeth and the transfer of her crown to the head of her rival. Norfolk for his part was to receive the hand of Mary as soon as she could obtain a divorce from the piratical Bothwell. For a while the plot flourished in secret, but was at length divulged to Elizabeth, who put a sudden end to the brilliant dream of the conspirators. Norfolk was seized and imprisoned in the Tower. But even from this gloomy abode he managed in spite of the vigilance of Burleigh and Shrewsbury to open communication with her for whose liberation he had staked his life.

It was now four years since Mary's dethronement. It is as clear as any other fact in history that she busied herself constantly with the project of escape and the vision of regaining, not only her lost dominion in the North, but also in more distant prospect, the grasping of the English crown. At length the secret correspondence of Norfolk with the Queen of Scots was discovered. The duke, however, when brought to trial boldly denied that he had been guilty of the treasonable acts with which he was charged; but it soon transpired that Bannister, a servant of the duke, who had been intrusted with the correspondence, had unwittingly permitted the same to fall into the hands of Lord Burleigh! Norfolk was thus condemned out of his own mouth. Convicted of treason, he was sentenced to death and led to the block in 1572.

Mary Stuart had now become an actual menace to Elizabeth. The latter was urged to bring the Queen of Scots to trial and put her out of the world; but such a proceeding was foreign to Elizabeth's character and purpose. Nor was it an expedient measure to set Mary at liberty. The whole Catholic world was ready to receive her with open arms. It was evident that the English queen had a royal specter in her dominions from whose presence she would most gladly have been delivered. As the best measure to be adopted under the circumstances, the imprisonment of Mary was made more rigorous. She was transferred from the custody of the somewhat lenient Shrewsbury to that of a more severe jailer in the person of Sir Amais Paulet, assisted by Sir Drue Drury.

It will be remembered that in this summer of 1572 the diabolical scheme of Catharine de Medici and Charles IX., for the destruction of the Protestants of France, had been carried out in the horrid massacre of St. Bartholomew. That tragedy having been consummated, Catharine, in collusion with Philip of Spain, found time to brood over the project of performing a like service for other countries infested with heresy. England was a promising field for such evangelism as that preëminent witch and wizard of bigotry were likely to patronize. Albeit, Elizabeth must be dethroned and Mary Stuart seated in her place. Of course, whatever resources might be needed to create a sentiment in favor of this programme and to undermine the loyalty of the English nation would be readily furnished by the papal party in Scotland and the Jesuits of all the world. Meanwhile a plot was made by a Catholic priest named John Ballard to solve the whole question by the assassination of Elizabeth. Ballard secured coadjutors, and the desperate scheme was almost ready to be carried into execution when it was divulged to Walsingham. The vigilance of that nobleman proved to be fully equal to the occasion. The conspirators to the number of fourteen were seized, tried, condemned, and executed before Mary was aware that they had fallen into trouble. Her first intelligence of the collapse of the plot was borne to her while she was abroad on horseback, and the news was coupled with a mandate from the queen to the effect that Mary Stuart should be immediately sent to prison in the strong castle of Fotheringay in Northamptonshire. Thither she was followed by a court of commissioners appointed by Elizabeth to determine the part which Mary herself had had in the late murderous plot against the peace of the kingdom and the life of the queen. The evidence adduced at the trial, though not overwhelming, was sufficient to satisfy the judges of Mary's guilt. Judgment was accordingly pronounced against her on the 25th of October, 1586. Elizabeth appeared to be profoundly, and no doubt was in some measure, agitated and grieved by this

decision; for it devolved on her the necessity of pronouncing or withholding the sentence of death.

Meanwhile James VI., learning of his mother's condemnation, made unwearied efforts to save her from destruction. In this work he might have had better success but for the action of his own ministers, who entertained for Mary a hatred so cordial that they were willing to see her die. The very ambassador sent with the remonstrance to the court of Elizabeth advised her secretly to permit the condemnation of the court to take its course. For several months the queen held the death warrant unsigned, and when at length she affixed her signature it was with the ostensible purpose of holding it from the executioner. But the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, with or without the connivance of Elizabeth, procured the warrant and sped away to Fotheringay castle, where Mary was confined. To her they read the fatal paper and bade her prepare for death on the following morning. The only heroism in her character now shone forth in full luster. Like the frivolous Marie Antoinette, she rose to her full height under the appalling sentence. She faced her doom without a perceptible shudder, passed the night in writing letters, remembering her friends with keepsakes, praying, and a brief period of slumber. In the morning she arrayed herself in her best robe. She walked into the hall of execution and faced the headsmen with the air of a queen. Only when her servants burst into tears and sobs did her feelings gain a momentary ascendency over her composure. After another prayer she unrobed herself so as to expose her neck and laid her head on the block. Two strokes of the axe and the deed was done. Such was the intrepidity of her death that the beautiful wickedness of her life was forgotten, and posterity has persisted in loving *her* rather than Elizabeth.

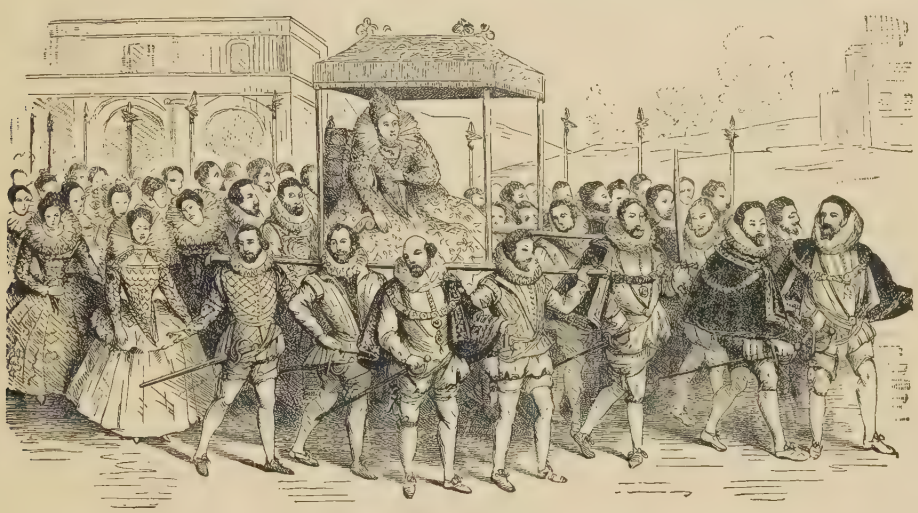
Thus, on the 7th of February, 1587, perished Mary Queen of Scots, being then in the forty-fifth year of her age. By her death a serious and far-reaching complication was removed from the politics of the time. Whatever may have been the feelings of Elizabeth, she deemed it prudent to make a decent show of grief. She accordingly put on mourning, and manifested the usual signs of sorrow which the royal living are wont to show for the royal dead. As for young James of Scotland, his resentment at his mother's execution knew no bounds; but the Protestant party in Scotland, coöperating with that in England, and having an undisputed ascendency in public affairs, succeeded in repressing his resentment against the English queen. The outcry of nature was smothered in the cloak of policy.

Turning, then, from this long personal episode in the affairs of England and Scotland to the foreign relations of Elizabeth's government, we find such elements at work as might well have daunted the spirit of that resolute sovereign. For, in the mean time, the whole Catholic world, angry at her from her birth and at her mother and father *before* her birth, had conspired to destroy her, and reverse the wheels of English Protestantism. As the head and front of this offending appeared Philip II. of Spain. Cherishing a deep antipathy against the English on account of their old treatment of himself in the days of his union with Mary Tudor, and deeply piqued at Elizabeth for her rejection of his suit, and ambitious—so far as such a nature could cherish ambition—to restore the shattered dominion of Catholicism, he formed the design of invading the insular kingdom, driving Elizabeth from the throne, subverting the Protestant cause, and restoring the Island to Rome. To this end, he organized a powerful army under command of the Duke of Parma, and equipped in the Tagus the greatest fleet of the century. So complete were the preparations, and so formidable the squadron, that it received the boastful name of the Invincible Armada. Nor can it be denied that the sound of the coming storm across the waters was well calculated to spread alarm in England, and awaken the most serious apprehensions at the court.

It was, however, just such an emergency as this that was needed to bring out the highest qualities of the queen and her people. Neither she nor they cherished the slightest idea of being conquered by the hated Spaniards. Preparations were at once begun for defense. The command of the English fleet was given to Lord Howard of Effingham. Neither the squadron nor the army was at all

comparable in strength with that of the enemy; but in the will to conquer or to die the comparison was altogether the other way. With such commanders as the Admirals Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, who served under Lord Howard, and with such generals as Lords Leicester and Hunsdon, the bulwark which English hands industriously raised around their queen was not likely to be easily broken down.

Elizabeth herself took the field and became the divinity of the war. Nothing could surpass the splendid anger with which she rode forth from her capital and went in person among the soldiers. She was borne from place to place in her palanquin. In the camp at Tilbury she sat on horseback and delivered a speech to the army, in which she said with



ELIZABETH BORNE IN HER PALANQUIN.

flaming indignation: "I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king and of a king of England, too; and think foul scorn that Parma of Spain or any Prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realms; to which, rather than any dishonor shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms; I myself will be your general, your judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field."

In the mean time the Armada, under command of the Duke of Medina, whose abilities as an admiral were in inverse ratio to the importance of the trust to which he had been assigned by the partiality of Philip, dropped out of the Tagus, and on the 29th of May, 1588, set sail for England. On the very first day out, however, a storm arose of such violence as to shatter the armament and drive it back to port. After repairing damages the squadron again put to sea with the intention of proceeding first to Flanders and then to the mouth of the Thames. On the way out, however, the Duke of Medina learned that the English fleet was assembled at Plymouth, and believing himself able to annihilate his enemy at a blow, he ventured to disobey his orders and made all sail for the squadron of Lord Howard. But before the Spanish admiral could reach the harbor of Plymouth a swift sailing Scotch pirate sped before the coming storm and gave notice to the English commander that the fleet of Spain was upon him.

Scarcely had Admiral Howard drawn forth his fleet from the harbor, when sure enough the Armada hove in sight. Stretching in a semi-circle from right to left for a distance of seven miles, the portentous Spanish men-of-war loomed up out of the horizon. Here it was that the heroism of England on the sea, which has been the boast and just pride of that wonderful Island Empire for centuries, was destined to flame up with unexampled brightness. Howard quickly perceived that his main dependence for success would lie in the superior agility of his fewer and lighter ships, and in the dauntless courage of his men. Otherwise the small fleet of England would be borne down by the heavy, rolling ships of Spain and the pennon of St. George would sink into the sea.

The battle began with a cannonade. The Spaniards fired wildly, and their volleys flew over the masts of the English ships, but Howard poured in his broadsides with terrible effect upon the lumbering vessels of the enemy. Presently a huge treasure-ship of the Spaniards was set on fire, and that, together with another formidable vessel, was captured by Sir Francis Drake. After the battle had continued for some time, to the constant disadvantage of the Armada, the Spaniards began to draw off and ascend the English channel, but Howard pressed hard after the receding foe, constantly renewing the attack. Meanwhile ships began to pour out from every harbor along the English coast. Straggling vessels of the enemy were cut off from day to day.

Thus, considerably injured, the Armada cast anchor off Calais, there to await the arrival of the land forces under the Duke of Parma. The fleet of Lord Howard still hovered in sight. The English admiral prepared eight fire-ships, filled with combustibles and explosives, and sent them into the midst of the Spanish flotilla. In great alarm lest a general conflagration might be produced in his invincible squadron, the Duke of Medina ordered the anchors to be cut, and the vessels to disperse themselves for safety. In the confusion consequent upon this movement, Howard bore down upon the Armada, and captured twelve ships. Meanwhile the Duke of Parma arrived on the coast, but, perceiving the shattered condition of the armament, and fearing to trust his army to so unsafe a convoy, declined to embark. This left the Armada, now wallowing in terror off the coast, to take care of itself as best it might.

The huge wounded beast of the sea began to draw off in the hope of reaching Spain; but the winds were adverse, and it was found necessary to sail to the North, and double the capes of Scotland. This movement was accordingly undertaken; but Lord Howard hung constantly on the rear of the retreating squadron, striking blow after blow, with ever-increasing courage. Only the final failure of his ammunition compelled him to desist. Then came the storm-winds of the North to finish what had been spared by English audacity. The tempest howled out from the Orkneys, and the great hulks of the Spanish flotilla were blown up in a pitiable wreck on the rock-coasts of Scotland and Ireland. Only a few ships survived to bear back to Philip the story of the utter ruin of his splendid fleet. That which had been begun with infinite boasting and bravado had ended in the most signal collapse of the century.

Great was the triumph in England. The victorious Protestants kindled their bonfires in every town. The burly mariners of the solid little Island made every harbor ring with the shout of "Long live the Queen!" The sun of Elizabeth rose to the zenith, and the real greatness of Modern England began in the glory of her reign. The Catholic princes of the continent looked on in amazement at the wonders which were wrought under the administration of this fiery and imperious daughter of the expiring House of Tudor. Meanwhile, her long-time favorite minister, the Earl of Leicester, died, and was succeeded by young Robert Devereux, earl of Essex. This distinguished nobleman had been educated by his guardian, Lord Burleigh, at Trinity College, Cambridge, and was fitted by his genius and accomplishments to shine with peculiar luster at the court. His chief competitor for the favor of the queen was the great navigator, Sir Walter Raleigh.

Between these two a fierce and deadly rivalry sprang up which would have destroyed the peace of any court of which the reigning divinity was a less haughty and imperturbable spirit than Elizabeth Tudor. To her, however, the quarrels of her admirers and would-be lovers were no more than the gambols of the idle wind, which she could control, direct, or allay at her pleasure. It appears, however, that of all the royal flatterers who crowded around her, even from her girlhood to her death, Robert, earl of Essex, obtained the strongest hold on her affections. Such was his ascendency, and such his haughty will, that he spoke to the queen and demeaned himself in the palace in a manner which Elizabeth would have brooked from none other, living or dead.

All the latter years of her reign are filled more or less with the deeds, follies, and misfortunes of Essex. In 1598, he was appointed governor-general of Ireland. It was

one thing to receive his appointment, and quite another to perform the duties of his office. For in that remarkable island which he was sent to govern a dangerous insurrection broke out under the leadership of the powerful Earl of Tyrone, a chieftain who had been recognized and honored by the queen, but was now acting in defiance of her authority. It was the misfortune of Essex to have as much impetuosity as genius. Rushing into the conflict with Tyrone, he soon found himself unable to cope with his sturdy antagonist. He accordingly made a truce with the insurgents, though that step had been expressly forbidden by the queen. At this Elizabeth's temper was ruffled, and she sent orders to Essex to remain in Ireland awaiting her commands. This was precisely what her favorite was least disposed to do. Setting at naught her mandate, he immediately returned to England, and rushed into the queen's apartments without waiting to change his dress. At this the imperious Elizabeth was still more seriously offended. The government of Ireland was taken from Essex and transferred to Lord Montjoy, and the favorite himself was ordered into retirement at his own house.

Now it was that the real struggle began in Elizabeth's breast between her affectionate regard for Essex on the one hand and her pride and sense of justice on the other. She had, however, now passed that time of life at which woman is most swayed by her emotions. What at an earlier epoch might have been impossible for her to do she now did with resolution and firmness. Essex, for his mismanagement of Irish affairs, was brought to answer before the privy council of the kingdom. The nobleman, hard pressed before his judges, made no attempt to excuse his bad administration, but put himself upon the mercy of the queen. That lady was now disposed to enjoy her triumph. She accepted the apology of Essex, but his expectation of a sudden restoration to favor was little flattered by her manner toward the suppliant. It was evidently her purpose to let him suffer the pangs of despair for a season, and *then* restore him to her smiles.

But Essex suddenly flared up in his humiliation and poured out a torrent, declaring that the queen, since she had become an *old woman*, was as crooked in her mind as in her person. Since the days of insulted Juno what woman ever yet patiently endured the *spretæ injuria formæ*—the intolerable insult offered to her form and beauty? If any, it was not Elizabeth of England. She struggled with her resentment. At times her old partiality for Essex well-nigh overcame her, and then her queenly pride would rally all of her passion for the punishment of her contumacious favorite. Essex himself lost all self-control. With the folly of a madman he opened the door to treason. He actually concocted a scheme for the overthrow of the dynasty and the transfer of the crown to James VI. of Scotland. With that prince he opened a correspondence; nor did it appear that James was at all loth to entertain the project of the incensed Englishman. But Essex had no skill in such business. He was one of the least secretive and politic of the great men of his times. The conspiracy instantly ran away with its driver.

Finding himself discovered, he rushed forth from his place at Essex House and offered himself with insane audacity as the leader of a mob to overturn the throne of England! The movement was only sufficiently formidable to excite the derision of the queen. After shouting to the charge in the streets of London, after discovering that the citizens, though greatly attached to him personally, were still more attached to the queen, he fled in disgrace and shame, first to the Thames and then to his own house. Here he was captured and taken to the Tower. A trial followed, which was scarcely necessary, for the overt acts of Essex were so manifestly treasonable that his conviction followed as a matter of course.

In all this miserable business the queen, with her profound insight, readily perceived the true secret of Essex's folly and crime. He was mad—desperate. At heart he was in no wise disloyal, and would at any time, in the midst of his insane bravado, have drawn his sword and fought to the death for the very woman whom he was trying to dethrone had she but so much as smiled upon him in the old-time fashion. It was the lover's madness rampant in the high places of politics. As for Elizabeth she was now in the pitiable condition of being *obliged* to go forward. Essex was condemned to death, and the warrant was

placed before her by his enemies for her signature. There she sat.

And now comes the story of the ring. In the palmy days of his glory Essex, on a certain occasion when about to depart on a campaign, pouring out his lover's grief to the queen and bewailing his hapless lot in having to leave her presence, with the consequent advantage which his rivals would have in reviling and injuring him in her esteem during his enforced absence, had received from her a ring—for she too was smitten—with the assurance that if ever anywhere, even under her own extreme displeasure, he should come to grief and be shaken over the edge of despair, he need but return to her this remembrance of her pledge to secure him the revival of her esteem and a rescue from his peril. The lover-politician carefully preserved the ring. The hour of destruction had now come, and with it that crisis which demanded the return of the token in order to save his life. Elizabeth remembered her promise. She hesitated to sign the warrant. She waited day by day, still believing that her obstinate lover would bow his haughty spirit and send back the token of his old-time devotion and hope. But the ring came not. At last, driven to desperation by what she considered his obstinacy and defiance, urged, as she was by some of the most powerful men of the kingdom, and notably by Sir Walter Raleigh, to carry the sentence of the court into execution, she at last yielded to her pride and the suggestions of the situation and signed the fatal document. It was the end of all hope for him who had been the most powerful and favored of her flatterers. His enemies were only too glad to get the death warrant into their hands. On the 25th of February, 1601, he was led forth to the block, and fell under the axe of the executioner.

Nor was it long until the *dénouement* of the tragedy was presented with thrilling effect. In the course of the year the old Countess of Nottingham, when brought to her death-bed, fell into an agony of distress and sent hastily for the queen. Elizabeth came, little expecting to receive the terrible revelation. The countess told her that a short time before the execution of Essex he had sent for her, *had given her a ring*, and solemnly charged her to bear it to the queen. This, however, the countess, being dissuaded and overborne by the will of her husband, had failed to do. Here it was! Essex *had* remembered the pledge. Essex *had* struggled in the day of doom to save himself from death. Essex *had* bowed his spirit to her imperious will and knelt in submission at her feet. Essex *had* died believing that the ring, with its sacred recollections had been delivered to her, and that even *that* had failed to move in her stony heart the late remorse of love. All this rushed upon Elizabeth like a torrent. Perhaps no such a passion ever in the annals of human despair swept over the heart of woman already chilled, half-frozen with the ambitions and wasted purposes of seventy mortal years. She flew with the ferocity of an aged tigress upon the couch of the dying countess. She shook her and then recovered herself. But any peace of mind which Elizabeth of England may ever have enjoyed was gone forever. Essex was dead. "God may forgive you, but I never will," she exclaimed angrily at the quaking old countess, and then rushed from the apartment. She returned to the palace in an uncontrollable storm of grief. None could comfort her. Eat she would not. Sleep she could not. For ten days and nights she remained where she had flung herself on the floor, propped up with such cushions as her ladies vainly brought in the hope of procuring her rest. The iron barb had at last entered the soul of the haughty Elizabeth. Over her also had sounded the solemn clock in the tower of fate. Nature had triumphed over pride, and the queen lay prostrate before the woman.

Elizabeth never recovered from this shock. The people of the court vainly strove to wean her thoughts from the subject of her grief. She was already aged and broken. She had preferred glory to motherhood, and now the House of Tudor was dying with her. She grew so feeble that she could no longer resist the attentions of those who sought to save her. She was laid on the royal couch, from which she was never to rise again. Here she lingered for a few days longer. Then it became certain that the end was at hand. The shadows fell on the evening of the last day of her life. She herself knew that she was going. The Archbishop of Canterbury was sent for to give her the last consolations of religion.

Long he prayed by her bedside. Still she beckoned for him to go on. The counselors came to ask her about the succession. To this forbidden subject she now gave such attention as her dying hour could afford. But that ambiguity with which for forty-five years she had been wont to baffle the inquisitive and put away unpleasant questions of politics, was still employed in her last utterance. She said to her ministers who had come to know her will, that she had held a regal scepter, and desired a royal successor. Hereupon, Lord Burleigh asked her to explain more fully her wishes, and to this she replied very faintly: "A king for—my successor." It was tolerably evident that this answer could refer to none other than her nephew, the king of Scotland. It is said that Cecil asked her in so many words if she referred to James, and to this she made no answer, but raised her hand to her head, which was construed by the bystanders as a sign of assent. But whatever may have been the will of the dying queen, there could be but one solution of the question. James Stuart was clearly entitled to the succession.

The three children of Henry VIII. had successively held the English throne. The crown must, therefore, find a collateral resting place among the descendants of Henry's sister Margaret. That princess had been married to James IV., of Scotland; and of that union James V., father of Mary and grandfather of James VI., was born. The latter prince, therefore, evidently was the true claimant, and his right was greatly strengthened by the fact that through his mother he had inherited the crown of Scotland, so long worn by the princes of the House of Stuart.—Elizabeth died on the 24th of March, 1603, being then in the seventieth year of her age and the forty-fifth of her reign.

The epoch during which she had held the scepter was one of the most important in the annals of England. To the greatness of her time she had herself contributed not a little. Elizabeth was, in her own genius and character, both a product and a factor of the age. The summary of the illustrious Hume may well be added as the best epitome of this remarkable reign and more remarkable sovereign:

"Few great persons have been more exposed to the calumny of enemies and the adulation of friends than Queen Elizabeth; and yet there is scarcely any whose reputation has been more certainly determined by the unanimous consent of posterity. . . . Her vigor, her constancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, address, are allowed to merit the highest praises, and appear not to have been surpassed by any person that ever filled a throne. A conduct less rigorous, less imperious, more sincere, more indulgent to her people would have been requisite to form a perfect character. By the force of her mind, she controlled all her more active and stronger qualities, and prevented them from running into excess. Her heroism was exempt from temerity, her frugality from avarice, her friendship from partiality, her active temper from turbulence and a vain ambition. She guarded not herself with equal care or equal success from lesser infirmities—the rivalship of beauty, the desire of admiration, the jealousy of love, the sallies of anger.

"Her singular talents for government were founded equally on her temper and on her capacity. Endowed with a great command over herself, she soon obtained an uncontrolled ascendant over her people; and, while she merited all their esteem by her real virtues, she also engaged their affection by her pretended ones. Few sovereigns of England succeeded to the throne in more difficult circumstances, and none ever conducted the government with such uniform success and felicity."

As it relates to the religious questions with which England had been distracted since the beginning of the century, the reign of Elizabeth may be cited as the epoch in which Protestantism became irreversibly established as the religion of the kingdom. Papacy went to the wall. Even the Jesuits, with all their subtlety, were unable to intertwine themselves with the policy of the state. The Protestant forms, however, which Elizabeth encouraged were wholly out of tune with Calvinism, and in many particulars jangled a discord with the doctrines of Luther. Elizabeth, in her own nature, was a Catholic. She was a Protestant by the necessity of her birth and the stress of the situation. She preferred the gorgeous worship of Rome to the simple ceremonial adopted by the doctors of Wittenberg,

and the still more austere forms evolved by the Genevese theologians. The result of this preference was that the Church of England took its station *between* the high-flown formalism of Rome and the utter non-formalism of the sectaries—that St. Paul's Cathedral until this day stands midway between St. Peter's and a Quaker meeting-house.

The attempt to check the schismatic tendency in religion made England a fruitful field for the development of new sects, in which the reformatory movement could find a further vent. Chief among the religious parties which thus appeared to carry forward the reformation were the PURITANS. Dissatisfied with the half-Romish formalism of the Church, unwilling to worship according to the ritual which had become organic in the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth, this people assumed an attitude as severe and uncompromising as that of the Lutherans in Germany or of the Calvinists of Switzerland and Scotland. The discipline which they prescribed for themselves and others was well-nigh intolerable. The rigor of their creed and code was almost inhuman in its uncharitable hostility to the common joys and pleasures of human life.

In its antipathy to the formalism of Rome and of the English Church, Puritanism instituted a formalism of its own, more exacting than that of either. Yet the age was in a mood to favor the spread of such a system. The severe morality of the Puritans was as undeniable as their practices were absurd, and this fact gave them a hold upon the somber conscience of England, especially in the North.

About the time of the oncoming of the great Armada, the Puritan movement began to attract the attention and awaken the anxiety of Elizabeth. She made efforts, not a few, to check the growth of the party, but it flourished all the more. In the counties of Nottingham, Lincoln, and York, the Puritans gathered strength and adopted what measures so ever they deemed essential for the establishment of a free religious worship. Politically, they professed themselves to be patriotic subjects of the English queen. Religiously, they were rebels against the authority of the English Church. Their rebellion, however, only extended to the declaration that every man has a right to discover and apply the truth as revealed in the Scriptures without the interposition of any power other than his own reason and conscience. Such a doctrine was very repugnant to the Church of England. Queen Elizabeth herself declared such teaching to be subversive of the principles on which her monarchy was founded. King James who succeeded her, was not more tolerant; and from time to time violent persecutions broke out against the feeble and dispersed Christians of the North.

Despairing of rest in their own country, the Puritans finally determined to go into exile, and to seek in another land the freedom of worship which their own had denied them. They turned their faces toward Holland, made one unsuccessful attempt to get away, were brought back and thrown into prisons. Again they gathered together on a bleak heath in Lincolnshire, and in the spring of 1608 embarked from the mouth of the Humber. Their ship brought them in safety to Amsterdam, where, under the care of their pastor, John Robinson, they passed one winter and then removed to Leyden. Such was the beginning of their wandering, and such the origin of that powerful religious party which was destined in the following century to contribute so largely to the establishment of the American Colonies in the North.

The one fact, however, which added most of all to the glory of the Elizabethan Age, was its literary splendor. In this regard the latter half of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century in England was a period unsurpassed, perhaps unequaled, in the history of the world. Not the Age of Pericles in Greece, the Augustan Age of Roman letters, the Age of the Medici in Italy, or of Louis XIV. in France was equal to the era of Elizabeth in its splendid outburst of intellectual activity. The human mind began suddenly to display its energies with a freedom and vigor never before witnessed. The cloud under which the spirit of man had so long groped, began to roll away as early as the reign of Henry VIII. One thing in all ages is and has been the enemy of mental achievement — FEAR. That goblin has struck with paralysis the sublimest powers of man's genius, and left him weak and groveling. Literature and fear can

MAP XV.
THE WORLD,
Showing the Colonial Possessions,
By A. von Steinwehr.
From Thalheimer's Mediæval and Modern History, by permission.
England & her colonies.
France " " "
Portugal " " "
Spain " " "
Holland " " "
ARCTIC OCEAN
Greenland (Danish)
Iceland (Danish)
Spitzbergen
Jan Mayen
Nova Zembla
N. Siberia
Parry Is.
Baffins B.
Hudson Bay
Banks Ld
Alaska
Yukon R.
Behring Sea
Gr. Bear L.
Victoria Land
Labrador
Newfoundland
New York
Washington
S. Francisco
Bermuda I. (British)
Sandwich Is
G. of Mexico
Caribbean S.
Panama
Quito
Ecuador
Peru
Arica
Valparaiso
Rio Janeiro
Bahia
Falkland Is. British
C. Horn
Graham Land
Azores Is. (Portuguese Possession)
Canary Is.
C. Verde Is.
Timbuktu
Monrovia (Guinea)
St. Helena (British)
Loanda
Capetown
Prt. Natal
COLONY
Zanzibar
Portuguese Zambese R.
Orange R.
Gondokoro
Khartum
Abyssinia
Tripoli
Morocco
Algiers
Gibraltar (British)
Lisbon
Portugal
Spain
France
Paris
Berlin
Vienna
Austria
Italy
Rome
Constantinople
Turkey
Smyrna
Egypt
Cairo
Mecca
Medina
Persia
Teheran
Bombay (Goa Portuguese)
Madras Pondichery (French)
Ceylon
Calcutta
INDIA
Lhassa
Yarkand
Chinese Empire
Pekin
Nanking
Canton
Formosa
Philippine Is. (Spanish)
Borneo
Java
Saigon (French)
Singapore
Archangel
St. Petersburg
Riga
Moscow
Orenburg
Astrachan
Aral S.
Caspian S.
Black S.
Tobolsk
Omsk
Turukhansk
Jakutsk
Okhotsk
Baikal L.
Nicolajeff
Kiachta
Japan
Jedo
AUSTRALIA
Perth
Sidney
Melbourne
Tasmania
Nelson
N. Zealand
Auckland
Maquarrie I.
Caledonia (French)
Wilkes Land
Victoria Land
ANTARCTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN

not inhabit the same kingdom. Freedom is the antecedent of manly thought—fearlessness of manly expression.

It happened, then, that under the fogs of England, about the time of the break of Henry VIII. with Rome, the mind of man in the social and political condition then present in the Island, began to feel the glory of freedom and to exhibit it in a fearless literature. Now came conspicuously forth Sir Thomas More, who had Erasmus for his friend, and gave to English letters the first example of a good biography—that of King Edward V. Better known is his *Utopia*, or the Republic of Noland, wherein the longings and aspirations of the human heart for an Ideal State are so happily expressed. Then came the court poet Isaac Skelton, and made the backs of the courtiers smart with the stinging lash of his satire. Well saith this sarcastical but still good-humored son of the dawn:

> "For though my rime be ragged,
> Tattered and jagged,
> Rudely raine-beaten,
> Rusty and mooth-eaten,
> If ye take wel therewith,
> It hath in it some pith."

In the distance we can still see the great Wolsey writhing under the deserved castigation of this fearless doggerel.

Any extensive list of the literary men of Henry's time would present the names of Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, and Sir Thomas Wyatt, both of whom were poets of considerable genius. At the same time the literature of Scotland was graced with the works of William Dunbar, Gawin Douglas, Robert Henryson, and Blind Harry the Minstrel, all of whose trial songs woke an echo in the hearts of their countrymen. Nor should failure be made to mention the beginnings of English *History* as illustrated in the translation of Froissart's *Chronicle*, by Lord Berners, and the *Chronicles* and *Historyes* of those garrulous old tale-tellers, Hall, Fabyan, and Hollinshed.

But the true outburst of genius came with the reign of Elizabeth. The language was new and generous. The English mind felt the joy, the ecstasy, of emancipation. The epoch abounded in materials. The western sky was still stained a gorgeous hue with the dying glories of chivalry. Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, gave the world his *Mirrour for Magistrates*, and then the great sun of Edmund Spenser's genius rose full-orbed upon the age. From his luminous brain poured forth an ocean of Romantic poetry, in which the philosophy of Plato and the religion of Christ were strangely blended with the splendors of heathenism and the Knight-haunted dreams of the Middle Ages. The Belle Phœbe of the *Faëry Queen* was Elizabeth herself; the poem in its entirety was but the shadow of her reign.

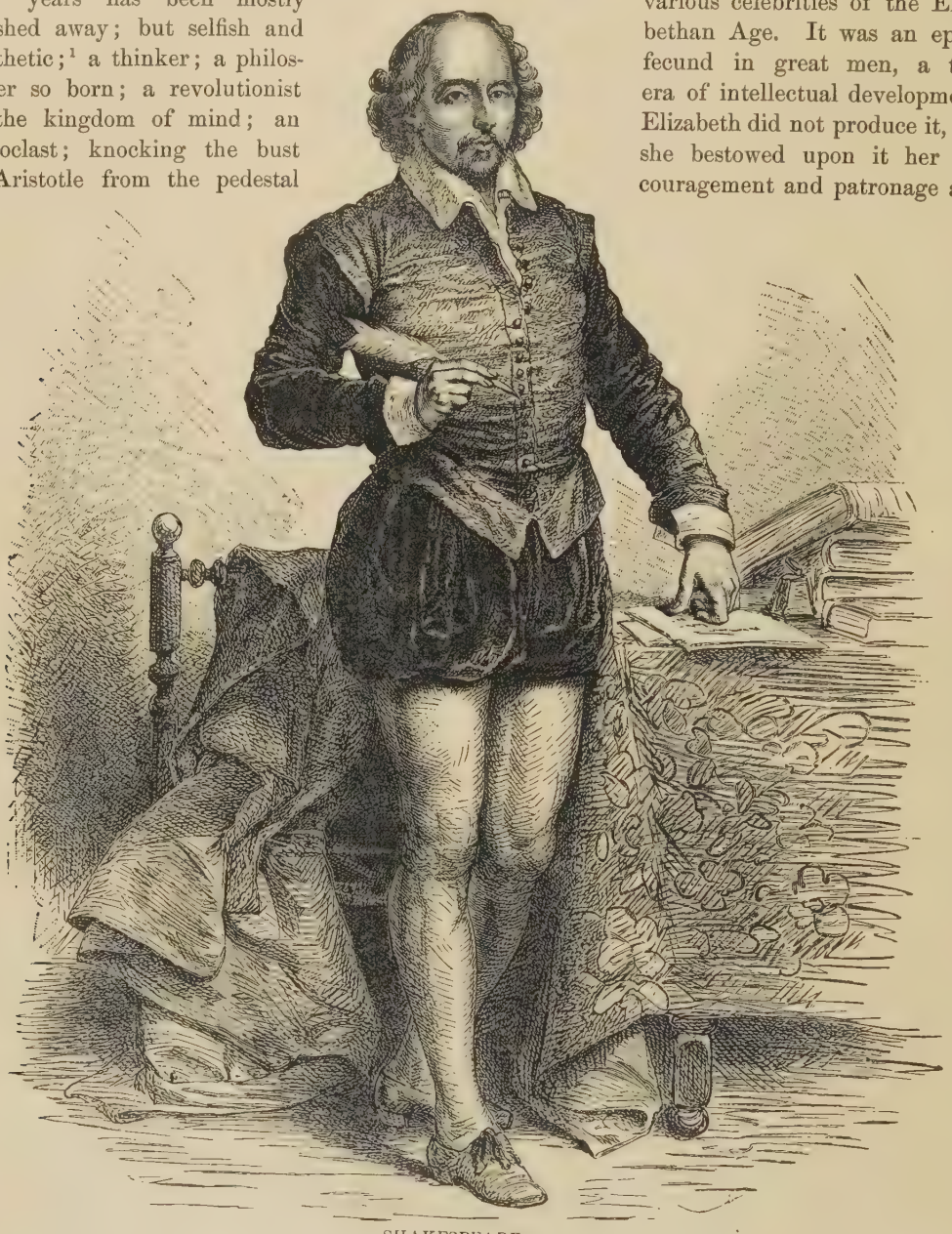
Next rose the inspired pagan, Shakespeare, in many respects greatest among men. He was the spirit of his times personified; most humane and gentle; tender and noble; reaching with his magical fingers from the all to the nothing of our nature. In his thirty-seven dramas, those infinite and ever-living "Histories, Tragedies, and Comedies of Master William Shakespeare," he has poured forth for us and for all posterity the swelling, the heroic, the sublime symphonies of love and battle mingled with the mutterings of remorse, the cooings of hope, the dying accents of despair. What would England be without her Shakespeare?

Before him, after him, around him, came a host. What shall be said of Massinger and Ford and Webster, and the lovely twain Beaumont and Fletcher, and the somber Marlowe almost as powerful as Goethe, wrestling with the agonies of *Faust?* What shall be said of gruff Ben Jonson, that classic pugilist of the English drama, who but for the presence of a greater would have been a king? How they grew and flourished! How they wrote and rioted! How they pictured human nature! How they held up its whims and its greatness! How they brought forth the Man, the Angel, and the Devil, and loosed them on the stage! How from one extreme to the other of the great diapason they swept the chords until all mankind trembled—and are trembling—with the agitation!

And Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, and Viscount St. Albans, there he stood, the apostle of the New Philosophy. Greatest teacher of the thing which has come to pass! A brain as luminous as that of Plato! A hard, unsympathetic nature! A steel-finished intellect shining like the sun; an understanding never surpassed; an ambition never overtopped; a

spirit cold as ice; *not* the meanest of mankind, for the calumny with which his memory has been loaded for more than two hundred and fifty years has been mostly brushed away; but selfish and apathetic;[1] a thinker; a philosopher so born; a revolutionist in the kingdom of mind; an iconoclast; knocking the bust of Aristotle from the pedestal of scholasticism; too great to be appreciated and too weak to be great; such was Francis Bacon, founder of that Inductive Philosophy which has carried us beyond the pale of mediæval learning, laid our hand gently in the hand of Nature, and taught us to *know*.

Time would fail to sketch the many and various celebrities of the Elizabethan Age. It was an epoch fecund in great men, a true era of intellectual development. Elizabeth did not produce it, but she bestowed upon it her encouragement and patronage and shared in it. The splendor of the time was focused not far from the throne; and it is the great praise of the queen that she not only endured the brilliancy in which she was set,



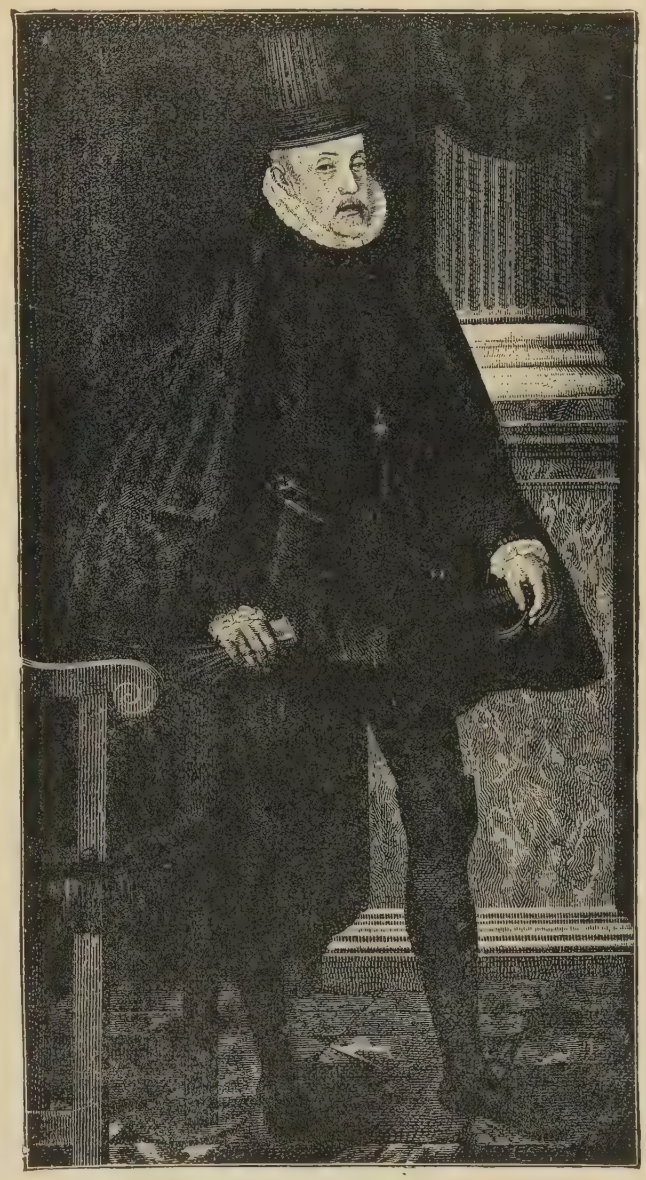
SHAKESPEARE.

[1] He who can seriously entertain the notion that Francis Bacon wrote the Shakespearean drama, overflowing as it does with all the loves of the world and all the milk of human kindness, must be smitten of a chimera. Shakespeare was Shakespeare; Bacon was Bacon.

but added by her genius and accomplishments to the dazzling light which fell upon her.

In the preceding pages glimpses not a few have been caught of the malign figure of PHILIP II. of Spain. The remainder of the present chapter will be devoted to him and his deeds. This monarch, who has found so little favor with posterity, was the son of the Emperor Charles V. and Isabella, daughter of Manuel the Great of Portugal. He inherited all the political and religious vices of his ancestry. At the age of sixteen he took in marriage his cousin, the Princess Maria, of Portugal, and by her became the father of Don Carlos. Maria died during the infancy of her son, and Philip subsequently chose for his queen Mary Tudor, of England. Of that marriage and its outcome an account has already been given in the preceding narrative.[1]

After a year's doleful residence among the English, whose hard sense and good morals he could not understand, much less appreciate, he went over, in 1555, to Flanders, being summoned thither by his father, who was now about to execute his purpose of abdication. On the 16th of the following January Charles ceded to him, besides the Netherlands, which he had already received, the remaining hereditary dominions of the Spanish crown. Germany had been given over to Ferdinand I.; but there still remained to Philip enough to constitute the most powerful empire in the world. His sway extended over Spain, the greater part of Italy, the Netherlands, and the almost boundless Spanish possessions in America, Africa, and the East Indies. The personage thus inheriting so vast an estate of power and grandeur was in every respect of the unheroic build. He was a Spaniard of the Spaniards. As he moved about, his weazen visage was ever turned to the ground. He was small in stature, meager in form, with thin legs, and hands that might have belonged to an Italian bandit. He had not even the generosity to converse with his fellow-men, except under necessity. Even then he spoke as if by some hateful compulsion. His small mind possessed a single virtue: he was indefatigable in business, and spent most of his hours in his cabinet, dictating dispatches and public papers.—As for the rest, he is said to have laughed but once



PHILIP II.

[1] See *ante*, p. 275.

in his whole life, and that was *when he heard of the massacre of St. Bartholomew!*

The revolt of the Netherlands and the establishment of the Dutch Republic constitute one of the most heroic events in modern times. A word will be appropriate regarding the *countries* in which this remarkable movement of political society was accomplished. These *Hollow* Lands, or *Nether*-lands, or *Low* Lands, of North-western Europe had been for the most part taken from the sea. So low was the level that the tide beyond, especially when swollen by angry winds, rolled in of old-time and deluged great districts capable—as was afterwards demonstrated—of supporting hundreds of thousands, aye, millions, of people. The soil had a natural fertility; and the Dutch who had settled in this region were, by race-character, among the most resolute of all the populations of Europe.

Never in all the world did man have such a battle with nature as in Holland. The eloquent Taine, in describing this situation, says:

"As you coast the North Sea from the Scheldt to Jutland, you will mark in the first place that the characteristic feature is the want of slope. . . . In Holland, the soil is but a sediment of mud; here and there only does the earth cover it with a crust of mire, shallow and brittle, the mere alluvium of the river, which the river seems ever ready to destroy. Thick mists hover above, being fed by ceaseless exhalations. They lazily turn their violet flanks, grow black, suddenly descend in heavy showers; the vapor, like a furnace-smoke, crawls forever on the horizon. Thus watered, the plants multiply; in the angle between Jutland and the continent, in a fat, muddy soil, the verdure is as fresh as that of England. Immense forests covered the land even after the eleventh century. The sap of this humid country, thick and potent, circulates in man as in the plants, and by its respiration, its nutrition, the sensations and habits which it generates, affect his faculties and his frame.

"The land produced after this fashion has one enemy, to wit, the sea. Holland maintains its existence only by virtue of its dykes. In 1654 those in Jutland burst, and fifteen thousand of the inhabitants were swallowed up. One need see the blast of the North swirl down upon the low level of the soil, wan and ominous; the vast yellow sea dashes against the narrow belt of the coast, which seems incapable of a moment's resistance; the wind howls and bellows; the sea-mews cry; the poor little ships flee as fast as they can, bending, almost overset, and endeavor to find a refuge in the mouth of the river, which seems as hostile as the sea. A sad and precarious existence, as it were, face to face with a beast of prey. The Frisians, in their ancient laws, speak already of the league they have made against the ferocious ocean."

How Holland diked out the sea is known to all the world. Year after year, generation after generation, this sturdy and indomitable people fought back the hostile and ever aggressive deep until at last, far off in that bleak, north-western horizon, the figure of Man, standing complaisant on the long mole of earth which his own industry had raised, was seen between the North Sea and the sky. The Dutch Minerva planted a garden where the surly Neptune had lately set his trident.

At the time when Philip II. was called to the throne of the Netherlands, the country was already one of the richest and most prosperous of all Europe. In all there were no fewer than seventeen of these lowland provinces, differing from each other in language, customs, and laws. Next to France were the four Walloon districts, the people of which spoke a dialect of French. In the central provinces were the Flemings with their own language; while the coast regions belonged to the Dutch. A common political bond was supplied by the States-general, which body convened from time to time, and exercised such prerogatives as were conceded by the crown of Spain.

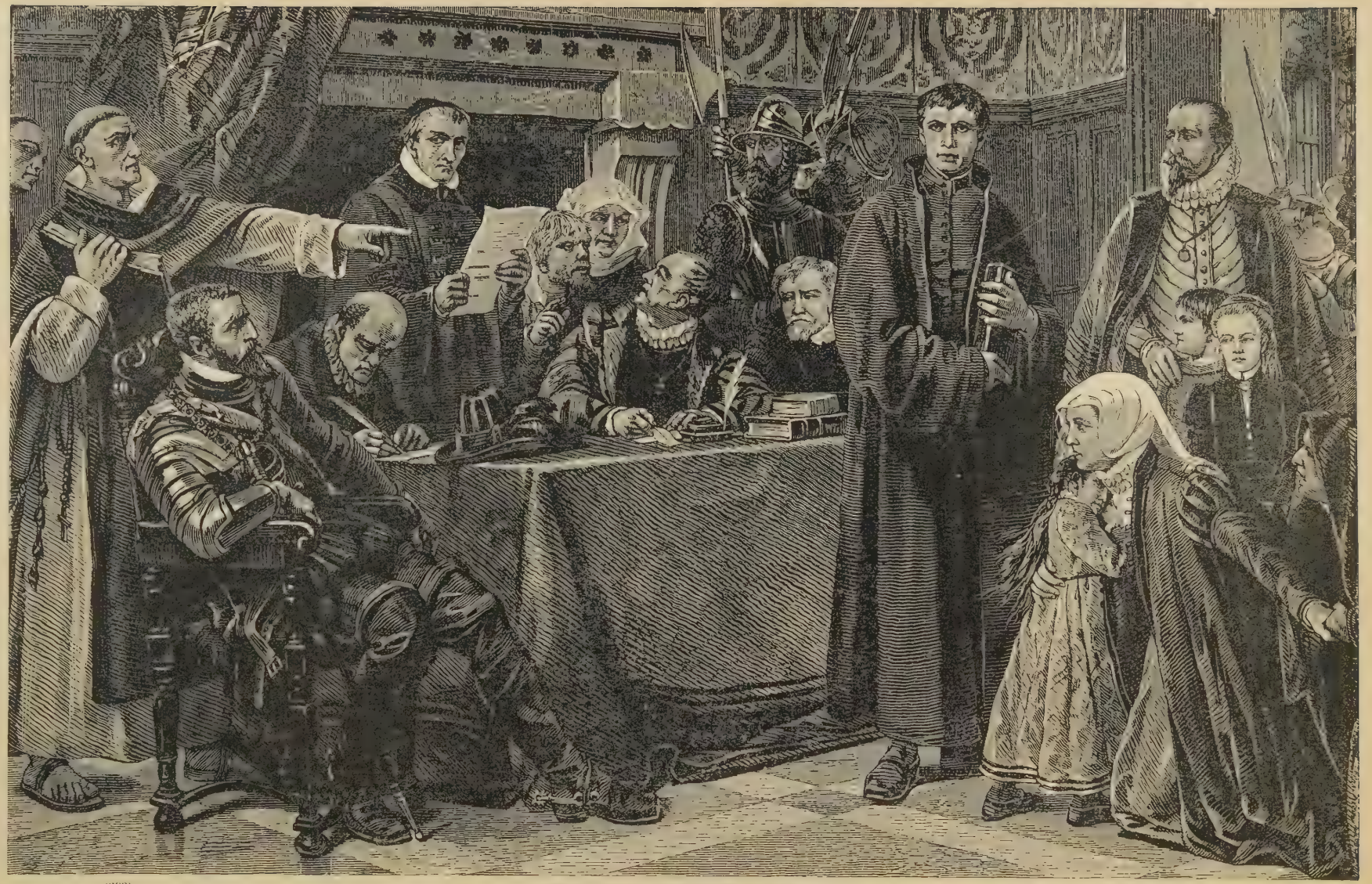
Industrially considered, the people of the Netherlands were agriculturists, manufacturers, merchants. Their thrift was unsurpassed; their accumulations greater than could be found anywhere else from Riga to London. Already the cities of Antwerp, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam had become the commercial centers of Northern Europe. In the matter of religion, the Hollanders were Protestants. In no other country, save Germany only, had the doctrines of Luther been so cordially accepted. This action of his subjects had been exceed-

ingly distasteful to Charles V., who spared no effort to check and repress the religious revolution which he saw going on in the Netherlands. Against the Protestant leaders he launched one edict after another, and finally, in hope of extirpating the heresy, established the Inquisition in Flanders. Before the death of Charles, the fangs of persecution had already been fixed in Holland, and several thousand of her people had been put to death on account of their religious belief.

After his father's death, namely, in 1559, Philip II. committed the government of the Netherlands to his half-sister, the Duchess of Parma. Her ministry consisted of Bishop Granvelle, the statesman Viglius, and Count Barlaimont. This governmental system, however, was somewhat foreign to the tastes of the Netherlanders, who were somewhat disposed to look to Prince WILLIAM OF ORANGE as the head man in the state. This remarkable personage had not long before returned to his own principality from Paris, where he had been detained as a hostage during the reign of Henry II. Though at that time a Catholic himself, he was amazed and horrified, while residing at the French court, to hear coolly discussed the various measures which the princes of the Catholic world were then debating for the destruction of the Protestants.

On his accession to the throne, Philip II. proceeded to establish in the Netherlands a number of new bishoprics. Each of these was of course an incubus laid upon the people, who had no sympathy with the bishops and their work. This circumstance was the beginning of the break between Philip and his subjects. The Netherlands adopted the constitutional course of obtaining redress. They sent to the Spanish court one of their most distinguished noblemen, Count Egmont of Flanders, to represent to the king how greatly his subjects were distressed by the recent measures, and to ask that the same might be modified or annulled. Philip, in such a situation as this, was a thorough Jesuit. He as-

WORK OF THE INQUISITION IN HOLLAND.



(298) THE BEGGARS BEFORE THE COUNCIL.

sured Egmont of his kind intentions. He lavished upon him flatteries and attentions to such a degree that the count's head was turned, and he went back to the States-general possessed of the belief that all was well respecting the policy of the king. But scarcely had Egmont reached the provinces when letters followed from Philip ordering the Inquisition, backed by the government, to proceed with all rigor against the heretics, and declaring that though a hundred thousand lives all his own should perish, he would not hesitate in the work of upholding and reëstablishing the ancient faith in all his dominions.

Now it was, however, that William of Orange, who at this time held the office of governor of Holland and Zealand, supported by a league of others, like-minded with himself, interposed to prevent the work of the Inquisition. He declared that his countrymen should not be put to death on account of their religious opinions. For the moment the situation was critical and full of peril. Many of the Flemings and Hollanders fled. Thirty thousand of them, the best artisans and merchants in Europe, left their country and sought shelter under the outstretched arm of Queen Elizabeth.

The only safety lay in concert of action. Two thousand of the leading Hollanders, embracing every variety of religious belief, came together for mutual protection. It was determined to try the effect of another appeal to the king. A list of demands was prepared and laid before the Duchess of Parma, who was amazed at the number and character of the petitioners. Turning to her councilors for advice, she was assured that the rabble who had declared against the Inquisition, and now presumed to ask for a redress of grievances, were only a "pack of beggars." It was, for those who made it, an unfortunate epithet; for the petitioners at once adopted the name which had been given them, and it was not long until the cry of "Long live the Beggars!" was heard on every hand.

Affairs had now assumed such shape as to demand the most serious attention of the Spanish government. A movement which had at first been regarded with contempt had already become formidable. An edict was issued by the king in which the startling concession was made that henceforth those convicted of heresy in the Netherlands might be hung instead of burned! With Philip II. the quality of mercy was not strained. Such was the absurdity of the measure, viewed as a means of reconciliation, that the people gave vent to their jocular indignation by nicknaming the edict, to which Philip had given the title of the *Moderation*, the MURDERATION! The insurrectionary spirit began to flame on every hand. The Dutch towns took fire. The people rose in arms and made a rush for their enemies. Cathedrals were burned, the pictures of the saints were thrown down in the churches, and images knocked from the niches; the coffers of the bishops were rifled, and the revolt became as defiant as that of the Hussites in Bohemia. The duchess-regent was pent up in her own capital, and there, in 1566, was obliged by the insurgents to sign an edict of toleration. It was agreed that hereafter the Protestants should be permitted to worship in their own manner, subject only to the condition that they should not disturb others in the exercise of similar rights.

It was clear from the first, however, that this compact would never be ratified by Philip. The Hollanders soon obtained information that he was rallying all his forces to destroy them and their cause together. The first battle of the bloody war which was now about to ensue was fought near Antwerp, in the spring of 1567. The Beggars suffered a severe defeat, loosing fifteen hundred men. As a foretaste of what might be expected, three hundred of the prisoners taken by the royal army were executed without mercy. Great was the distress of the Prince of Orange on account of these events. Vainly did he strive to bring about a reconciliation between the popular party and the king. Finding himself unable to control the storm which now began to rage as if four winds were blown together, the calm-tempered and dispassionate nobleman gave over the contest, and retired into Germany.

Meanwhile Philip, having completed his preparations for the subjugation of the Netherlands, found a fitting instrument for that nefarious work in the person of FERNANDO ALVAREZ, duke of Alva, one of the most cruel, relentless, and infamous of all the human blood-hounds that have ever been unleashed

to bathe their remorseless jaws in the blood of the innocent. A powerful Spanish army, under command of this cold and able genius, was landed at Brussels, in the summer of 1567, and the work which had been committed to his hands was faithfully undertaken.

PROTESTANTS OF HOLLAND BREAKING THE IMAGES OF THE CATHEDRALS.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

Counts Egmont and Horn, who, after William of Orange, were the most prominent men in the Netherlands, were seized and thrown into prison. The duke then proceeded to organize a tribunal before which offenders were to be arraigned and tried for the crime of disloyalty to Philip and the Church. Not without good reason did the Protestants give to this inquisitorial court the name of the Council of Blood.

The field was first cleared by the deposition of the Duchess of Parma. The Prince of Orange and nobles who had accompanied him into Germany were summoned to answer for their conduct before Philip's court; but they refused to present themselves for trial. After the retirement of the duchess from the regency, Alva became governor-general of the Netherlands. Nor was it long until the highest expectations of Philip were justified by the conduct of his subordinate. Such a career of crime and blood as Alva now ran can not be paralleled in the whole history of heartless and licentious madness. An edict was procured from the Inquisition by which all the people of the Netherlands, with the exception of those who were specifically exempted, *were sentenced to death!* It seems impossible to realize the horrible extent and brutality of such a decree. Nor did Philip fail to ratify, by a royal mandate, the action of the inquisitors. As to the execution of the decree, the same now rested with the merciful Alva.

The spectacle of legalized murder soon began in earnest. Those belonging to the lower classes of society were hanged. Nobles were beheaded and heretics burned at the stake. The property of the condemned was seized by Alva and his officers, and it was not long until the murderers wallowed in the wealth of their victims. Even those classes of persons who were exempted from persecution were in many instances robbed of their property by onerous taxes and requisitions.

Under this terrible reign of proscription and blood the most flourishing country in Europe fell prostrate. Manufactures ceased, towns were deserted. In the summer of 1568 the grass and weeds grew rank around the richest wharves and marts which the industry of man had created since the days of the glory of Venice. In June of that year the counts Egmont and Horn were brought forth from their dungeon in Ghent and dragged before the Council of Blood for trial. Both of these illustrious citizens were knights of the Golden Fleece, and both were by the solemn statutes

DUKE OF ALVA.

of the Empire exempt from trial by such a court as that which Alva had constituted. Egmont as prince of Brabant might claim the protection of the laws of his own state; and Horn, who was a German count, could be legally tried only by the statutes of the Empire. But all these guarantees were brushed aside as so much cobweb by Alva and his council. Both the counts were condemned to death and were led forth and beheaded in the great square of Brussels. Terror seized the people. Those who could do so fled as from a pestilence. Many took ship and went to sea. A Dutch fleet was equipped and letters of marque were granted to privateers by William of Orange, who now appeared on the scene and became the good genius of his country. The patriotic buccaneers who sailed under his commission, emulating the opprobrium which had been heaped upon their fellow patriots in the outbreak of the struggle took to themselves the name of Sea Beggars. Others of the Netherlanders sought refuge in the woods and became known as Wild Beggars, though their begging consisted in daring attacks made as opportunity offered upon their persecutors.

At this juncture the Emperor, Maximilian, cousin to Philip, sent a letter of remonstrance to that prince urging him to desist from his madness and cruelty. But he might as well have remonstrated with the fiend. Philip replied that he would rather not reign at all than to reign over heretics, and that, though the sky should fall, he would carry out his purpose in the Netherlands. It was this failure of Maximilian to mitigate the malevolence of Philip that finally determined the Prince of Orange to draw the avenging sword on behalf of his bleeding country. He raised and equipped three armies and entered the field to put an end to Alva's atrocities or perish in the attempt. Before proceeding against his antagonist, however, he published the first of his great state papers called the JUSTIFICATION, wherein he denounced the Duke of Alva and his Council of Blood with deserved severity. He declared that King Philip, forgetting the services which the Princes of Orange and Nassau had rendered to the Spanish crown, had with unwonted and perfidious cruelty, broken the solemn oaths which he had taken when crowned king of the Netherlands, and that such a ruler was unfit to sway the destinies of a free people.

THE DUKE OF ALVA'S MARCH TO THE NETHERLANDS.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

Hostilities now began on an enlarged scale. Two of Prince William's armies were defeated by the Spaniards; but the third, under command of Count Louis of Nassau, gained a signal victory over D'Aremberg in the battle of Groningen. This success, however, was of short duration. Alva soon came up with Louis of Nassau and overthrew him, with the destruction of his whole army, in the battle of Emden. So complete was the victory of the Spaniards that William of Orange and his brother, Prince Louis, were obliged to disband

their remaining forces and escape from the country. Unable any longer to sustain the Protestant cause in the Netherlands, they retired with a few followers into France and joined themselves with the Huguenots.

The Duke of Alva, now triumphant on the land, proceeded with his programme of legalized murder and extermination. The Beggars of the Sea, however, were more difficult to hunt down and bring to the gibbet. For four years they carried on a kind of honorable piracy, snatching many a ship from the Spaniards and selling their prizes to willing purchasers in the ports of England. It is but the truth of history to say that Elizabeth was not seriously offended at these proceedings of her loyal subjects. She and Philip began assiduously to cultivate their long standing animosity, and the plant grew with repeated waterings. Elizabeth sent gold into Flanders to supply the suffering patriots in their struggle with the Spanish king, and he in his turn dispatched secret messengers into England with instructions to encourage the intrigues of Mary Stuart and her supporters to sow the seeds of sedition in the kingdom, and should opportunity offer, to assassinate the woman whom he had recently tried to marry! Such were the amiable beginnings of that cordial hatred which, after twenty years of cultivation, sent

THE DUKE OF ALVA DEPOSES THE DUCHESS OF PARMA.
Drawn by R. Ermish.

the Invincible Armada out of the Tagus to meet its fate at the hands of Lord Howard and the North Sea.

EXECUTION OF PROTESTANTS IN THE NETHERLANDS.

But openly the two kingdoms continued at peace. Elizabeth, not wishing to violate the law of nations, forbade her subjects any longer to supply the Sea-Beggars with food. This act, however, conduced indirectly to the advantage of the Dutch cause. For De la Marck, who, by his genius, had risen to the rank of admiral of the Flemish privateers, gathered together his ships out of the English harbors, and, departing with twenty-four sail to the north of Zealand, seized Briel, and made it a rallying point of the Beggars. The place was soon fortified, and became well-nigh impregnable to assault. Having thus obtained a stronghold, De la Marck drew to his support the neighboring towns and islands. In July of 1572—while Catharine de Medici and her loving son were preparing the crimson programme for St. Bartholomew's Day — deputies from a multitude of the Dutch towns came together at Dort, and framed a declaration that William, Prince of Orange, was the lawful Stadtholder of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht, and that Philip II. being absent from the Netherlands, the government of Prince William should be upheld with their lives and fortunes. With this act the Dutch Republic may be said to have had its beginning.

This sudden revival of the cause which they had supposed extinguished first astonished and then alarmed the Spaniards. Alva was amazed at the energy suddenly displayed by the patriots. In addition to this, the double-dealing of the French court greatly perplexed him. It was clearly the policy of the king of France and the queen-mother to be strictly Catholic in their own dominions, and at the same time to be Catholic *or* Protestant in other kingdoms as suited their interest and convenience. Alva perceived that, instead of the powerful support which he had expected on the side of France, the Italian woman who governed that country was actually throwing her influence in favor of the Dutch. None the less, the duke again took the field, and displayed his wonted courage and savagery. He drove Prince Louis of Nassau into Mons, and there besieged him.

Meanwhile Prince William, having reorgan-

ized his forces in Germany again entered Flanders, and for a short time swept every thing before him. He captured Ruremonde, Mechlin, Dendermonde, and Oudenarde, and was about to raise the siege of Mons when the news came of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. At this juncture, a large division of Huguenots who were aiding Prince Louis in the defense of the town, and who were at that very time in the pay of Charles IX., were by his orders betrayed into the hands of the Duke of Alva, and were butchered in cold blood. Mons, thus weakened, fell, and all the conquests made by William in Brabant and Flanders were quickly recovered by the Spaniards. Indeed, in all the southern provinces, the Protestant cause was overthrown; but in Holland the Dutch were victorious, and the Prince of Orange gained an unequivocal possession of the government.

During the following winter the Low Lands were the scene of some of the strangest military operations ever witnessed. The Dutch fleet was frozen up in the harbor of Amsterdam, and, while in that condition, was attacked by a division of Alva's army. But the sailors armed themselves with muskets, put on skates, went forth on the ice-field, and defeated their assailants. Then followed the siege of Haarlem, one of the most heroic episodes of the war. Never was a place more heroically defended. The best women of the city enrolled themselves as soldiers, and fought with as much valor as their husbands and fathers. The winter was one of great severity, and this circumstance was favorable to the Dutch; for the Spaniards, though inured to the hardships of the field, were not accustomed to the cold, and they perished by thousands.

Notwithstanding her obstinate defense, Haarlem was at length taken, and nearly three thousand of her citizens put to death. The Spaniards next proceeded to lay siege to Alkmaar. But here they were met with a still more stubborn resistance; and, after the investment had been pressed for a season, the besiegers were driven off. Soon afterwards the Duke of Alva, having perhaps perceived the hopelessness of the work in which he was engaged, and disgusted with the intrigues of the Spanish court, many of which were directed against himself, procured his own recall. On the 18th of December, 1573, he left the Netherlands never to return. As his successor, Don Luis de Requesens, a man of more placable disposition and better sense of justice, was appointed. As soon as he reached the provinces, the old method of wholesale slaughter and destruction was renounced, and a new policy adopted, which, if it had come at an earlier stage of the war, would doubtless have ended the conflict. Now, however, the angry Dutch were determined to secure their independence, or die in the struggle. Besides, the oppressive taxes previously imposed by the Spanish government were still retained, and the Council of Blood continued its work of proscription.

In the year 1573 the Dutch fleet gained a complete ascendency on the sea. Had the land forces of the Netherlands been equally successful, the war would have been brought to a sudden end. But the Spanish infantry long regarded as the best soldiery in Europe, could not be driven from the country. The year passed without decisive results. But in the beginning of 1574, Prince Louis of Nassau, who was advancing from the side of Germany to reïnforce William in Holland, was met by the Spanish army and totally defeated in the battle of Nimeguen, where the prince himself was slain. In the mean time the Spaniards had begun the siege of Leyden. After the battle just referred to, the investment was pressed more rigorously than ever. Only a few soldiers were in the town, but the citizens took up arms and manned the ramparts. Unable to carry the place by assault, the besiegers waited until famine should compel a surrender. By the beginning of June the stress of hunger began to be felt in the city. But the people quailed not at the prospect. Prince William, who now had his headquarters at Delft, in Rotterdam, made unwearied efforts to relieve the suffering garrison. The situation was such, however, that he could not approach Leyden with his fleet without breaking the dykes along the Meuse and the Yessel, thus letting out the rivers and letting in the sea. To do so was to deluge the already afflicted country, and to destroy the growing crops still unripe in the fields. The States-general, however, gave orders that the dykes should be broken, and the floods rushed over the country.

The starving citizens of Leyden well understood the meaning of the rising sea. They climbed to the towers and anxiously watched the swelling waters until what time the provision fleet of William should come in sight. That thoughtful prince had prepared and loaded with supplies two hundred ships at Delft, and as soon as the waters were sufficiently deep, he ordered them to sail for Leyden. When the fleet came in sight of the city, and thousands of eager hands were ready to stretch forth to receive the food which was to save them from a horrible death, an adverse east wind blew the vessels back towards Delft. The waters sank so low under the pressure of the blast that the ships could not immediately return. When at length the floods rose, the same thing happened again, and the famishing people of Leyden at last gave way to despair. They rushed to the burgomaster and demanded that the city should be surrendered to the Spaniards; but that undaunted officer faced the hungry multitude with true Dutch heroism. "I have taken an oath," said he, "never to deliver our city of Leyden into the hands of the perfidious Spaniards. I am ready to die, but not to break my oath. Here is my sword and here my breast. Kill me if you will and eat my body, but surrender I will not." Such heroic conduct on the part of the burgomaster could produce only one result. The people rallied from their despair; and though many fell dying of hunger, the rest stood to the work like heroes.

At last, on the 1st of October, the wind turned, and blowing from the north-west, brought in the deepening sea. Again the provision fleet drew near. The Spaniards saw that the hour of deliverance was at hand and made a furious attempt to beat off the approaching ships. In the middle of the night a battle was fought—one of the strangest spectacles in history—wherein for some hours the combat raged between the Dutch provision fleet—swinging about among the tops of the apple-trees and the roofs of submerged houses—and the Spaniards. But the latter were beaten off and the ships sailed up the Channel, distributing provisions right and left to the starving crowds of people on the banks. On the very next day after the deliverance, a gale from the north-east blew out the sea from the flooded district, and before the tide could turn the dykes were securely rebuilt.

It was now evident that the besiegers could not succeed in taking the city. Though a great part of the walls, undermined by the water, fell, the Spaniards made no further attempt to repair their discomfiture, but began a retreat. In commemoration of their deliverance, the authorities of Leyden founded a university and established a sort of memorial fair of ten days in each year.

In the latter part of 1574 Philip II., finding the fates against him, assented to the mediation of Maximilian, and it was agreed that a peace congress should be held at Buda in the following year. When the assembly convened, however, it was found that the Spanish king's idea of peace was that the Netherlanders should concede every thing and himself nothing. Even if it had been otherwise the case would hardly have been improved, for the perfidy of Philip was so well known as to destroy all confidence in any pledges which he might make. The Congress of Buda was obliged to adjourn without important results, and the war was immediately renewed.

In the spring of 1576, De Requesens died, and his soldiers, who were unpaid, broke into mutiny, Dividing into lawless bands they marched whither they would, committing such outrages as made civilization shudder. The cities of Ghent, Utrecht, Valenciennes, and Maestricht were successively taken by the lawless and licentious troops, who burned and murdered at their will. At last Antwerp itself was captured and for three days became a scene of such devastation as had hardly been witnessed since the days of the Goths. A thousand buildings were left in ashes and eight thousand of the people were butchered.

Still William of Orange held his position in the North. In the hope of lending a helping hand to the stricken southern provinces he induced the authorities of Brussels to convoke the States-general, and when that body convened he sent an army to aid in expelling the Spaniards from Ghent. By these means the northern and the southern provinces were brought into alliance, and the prospects of the Netherlands greatly improved. An agreement was made, under the name of the Patrification

of Ghent, by the terms of which the estates of the seventeen provinces were to assemble by their representatives and devise measures for the complete expulsion of the Spanish armies from their borders, and for the establishment of religious toleration.

In the mean time, however, Prince Don John, of Austria, had been appointed by his brother Philip to succeed Requesens in the governorship of the rebellious country. By the time of his arrival, in November of 1576, so hostile had the states become to the continuance of Spanish rule that he was compelled to enter Luxembourg, which was the only province now holding aloof from the League, in the disguise of a Moorish slave. Nor could he in any wise enter upon his alleged duties as governor until he had taken an oath to observe the statutes and customs of the country. The agreement which he was thus obliged to ratify was known as the PERPETUAL EDICT. But the absurdity of such a name for such a document is well illustrated in the fact that before setting out for the Netherlands Don John had been instructed by Philip *to promise the people every thing and perform nothing!*

In the very beginning the new governor had a foretaste of what was to be expected. The authorities refused to give him possession of the citadel of Brussels. In revenge for this business he availed himself of the first opportunity to seize the fortress of Namur, and soon afterwards continued his aggressions by capturing Charlemont and Marienburg. He then attempted to perform a like feat at Ghent and Antwerp, but was defeated by the people, who destroyed their citadels to prevent them from falling into the power of the Spaniards.

In the mean time, the Catholic nobles of Flanders and Brabant, seeing the havoc that was wrought in the country by the agents of Philip, stood off from that crooked prince, and set up in opposition to Don John the Archduke Matthias, brother of Emperor Maximilian. The latter was acknowledged by William of Orange, and the prince accepted, at his hands, the office of lieutenant-general of the Netherlands. Once more the States on this basis assembled and adopted the UNION OF BRUSSELS. The northern and the southern provinces were by this means drawn into a closer alliance and community of interests.

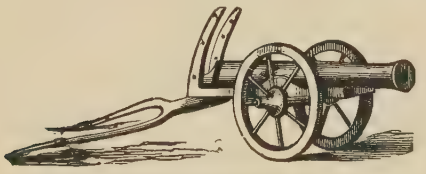
But Philip was in no wise disposed to abate his pretensions to absolute authority in the North. In 1578, he sent into the Netherlands a new army of Spanish troops under command of Alexander Farnese. This movement was precipitated by the action of Queen Elizabeth, whose contingent of six thousand soldiers arrived in the same year and joined the army of Holland. The English queen had now become thoroughly enlisted in the cause of the Dutch; for she had discovered a plot which her enemies had concocted to depose herself, put Mary Stuart on the throne, and marry her to Don John of Austria. Back of this scheme stood Philip II., Catharine de Medici, the Guises, the Pope, *et id omne genus*. When Farnese entered the Netherlands, he was soon confronted by the Dutch; but the Spanish infantry still proved to be superior to any that could be

ALEXANDER FARNESE, DUKE OF PARMA.

brought against it, and the battle of Gemblours resulted in a complete victory for Philip's army.

But shortly after this disaster to the Dutch cause, the city of Amsterdam gave in her adherence to the Union of Brussels, thus adding a new increment of strength to the forces of the Protestants. In the next battle, that of Rymenants, the Spaniards were defeated; but the success of the Dutch was mainly attributable to the English auxiliaries, to whom the sight of a Spanish uniform was abhorrent. In October of this year Don John died, and was succeeded by Alexander, duke of Parma, whose reputation as a soldier was not surpassed by that of any general of the century.

On the other hand, the Protestants also found it desirable to take down the figurehead which they had found in the person of Matthias of Austria; for he had proved to be of no advantage to the cause. In his place the States now determined to set up the Duke



CANNON OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

of Anjou, who, being French, could perhaps bring over the court influence of his country to the support of Dutch independence. Another part of the programme contemplated the marriage of Anjou with Queen Elizabeth. Albeit, the princes of the continent had not yet learned that, in the matter of marrying, that distinguished lady had views of her own which were likely to be made known before the ceremony. It suited her purpose, however, to play awhile with her alleged lover, and to direct his movements. Anjou marched into Hainault, made a brief but successful campaign, and then retired into France.

Now it was that the cause of the Dutch Protestants was more injured by internal fanaticism than by foreign foes. At the city of Ghent a democratic insurrection broke out against the Union of Brussels. The movement was headed by certain demagogues who were going to introduce the millennium by transferring the legislative powers of the state to the deans of the trade-guilds and the captains of the militia, while the executive functions were to be lodged in a Council of Eighteen. This impractical scheme was caught at not only in Ghent, but in many other towns, and the movement was for political reasons supported by the deposed Matthias and John Casimir, prince of the palatinate. The pitable spectacle was thus presented of a division among the opponents of Spanish absolutism. Vainly did the Prince of Orange attempt to prevent one faction of the Protestants from going to war with the other. He had the mortification to see a Huguenot invasion of the Walloon provinces, while the Walloons themselves were making a campaign against the insurgents in Ghent. The general result of this factious conflict was that the Catholic provinces of the South renounced the Union of Brussels, and renewed their allegiance to the Spanish crown.

In this emergency the best that could be done by the Prince of Orange was to save whatever remained to the cause of Dutch independence. To this end he secured a new confederation known as the UNION OF UTRECHT, embracing in the compact the seven Protestant provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Guelders, Overyssel, Friesland, and Groningen. It was agreed that the nominal sovereignty of the Netherlands should still be conceded to Philip of Spain, but that so far as the local government of the country was concerned, all foreigners should be expelled, the offices given to natives, and the ancient laws and usages of each province restored and guaranteed.

In the mean time the attention of the great powers of Europe had been called to the unprecedented conflict in the Netherlands. In 1578 a congress of the leading European states convened at Cologne. The delegates came together under a summons from the Emperor Rudolph II. Representatives were present from most of the German countries, from France, England, the Netherlands, Spain, and the States of the Church. The question presented by the Emperor was the pacification of the Netherlands. Those provinces were willing to be pacified on the principle of religious toleration, the expulsion of foreign officers, and the restoration and observance of the old Dutch laws and customs. These conditions

were precisely what Philip was determined never to concede. For seven months the congress wrestled with the problem, and then adjourned, wholly barren of results. As a consequence of the general condition of affairs and the fruitlessness of the recent effort for peace, the seventeen provinces which had been united under the Union of Brussels were now divided into three groups: the four Walloon districts lying next to France returned to Spain, conditioned, however, on the withdrawal of the Spanish troops; the middle provinces grouped themselves in Flanders; while the remaining states of the North united on the ground of absolute independence. As to the religious questions which lay at the bottom of the insurrection, the Walloons returned to the Catholic communion. Flanders tolerated both the old and the new doctrine, and the northern provinces became wholly Protestant.

AFTER THE CAPTURE OF MAESTRICHT.

Meanwhile Farnese had begun his military operations with the siege of Maestricht. About midsummer the city fell into his hands, and was given up to the licentious rage of the Spanish soldiers. On the other hand, William of Orange was successful in putting down the democratic rioters in Ghent, and restoring order in the North. At this epoch of the contest that Cardinal Granvelle, who had been a chief counselor in the administration of the Duchess of Parma, reäppeared on the scene, and induced Philip II. to issue a ban against William of Orange. He was branded with every crime in the calendar, and a reward of twenty-five thousand crowns was set on his head. The murderer, whoever he might be, was promised a free pardon for any and all crimes of which he might have been guilty, and an elevation to the ranks of the Spanish nobility. As a matter of fact, the Prince of Orange had been the most blameless leader of his times; nor had his course at any epoch of the conflict been so radical as justly to provoke the Spanish government. And yet the measures which were now adopted against him were such as would hardly have been justifiable against the most ferocious brigand of the Middle Ages.

The bloody edict of Philip was of so low

and brutal a character as to arouse all the slumbering indignation and insulted honor of William's nature. He replied in one of the ablest and most severe state papers of the century. Philip's murderous meanness was answered with just scorn. The king was told of his *own* crimes against humanity and the law of nations. *He* it was who, by his obstinate cruelty, had brought all the woes upon the Netherlands. *He* it was who had sent a rapacious and brutal soldiery to fall upon his peaceable subjects in the North, and had inflicted upon them every outrage known in the annals of lawless war. *He* it was who had already many times sought, by the employment of paid assassins, to destroy the nobler men whom he could not subdue to his brutal will. *He* it was who now attempted to terrify the lawful Stadtholder of the Netherlands by setting a price on his head. And then, having completed the terrible arraignment, the undaunted prince made out the document in duplicate, affixed thereto his signature, set his seal, wrote his fearless motto, "I WILL MAINTAIN," upon it, and sent a copy to nearly all of the rulers of Europe.

WILLIAM THE SILENT.

From this time forth the ascendency of William of Orange over the people of the North was almost unlimited. He made good use of his influence by inducing the retirement of the Archduke Matthias on a pension. One troublesome factor was thus removed from Dutch politics. In the next place the prince persuaded his countrymen of the middle provinces and the North to accept the Duke of Anjou as governor-general of the Netherlands, reserving for himself only the countries of Holland and Zealand. The duke on his part, in accepting the power thus conferred, solemnly covenanted to observe and maintain the laws, rights, and privileges of the provinces.

The States-general convened at the Hague, and in June of 1581 the authority of Philip of Spain was forever renounced by an *Act of Abjuration.* Francis of Valois, Duke of Anjou, was proclaimed ruler of the Netherlands. The formal action of the states was set forth in an able and radical paper drawn up by Sainte Aldegonde, under the inspiration of his friend, the Prince of Orange. Among other articles of the great document a clause was inserted declaring the natural right of a people to renounce and depose a sovereign who presumed to govern with injustice—a political maxim afterwards adopted by the English revolutionists of the Cromwellian era, and still more explicitly by the American patriots of the Congress of Seventy-six in declaring independence.

The Duke of Anjou now sought to establish his authority by force. In so doing he had to face the Spanish army under Alexander of Parma. The latter was at this time engaged in the siege of Cambray, and thither Anjou led an army of French. Parma was obliged to raise the siege, and the forces of Anjou took possession of the city. The duke soon afterwards entered Antwerp, where he received, at the hands of the Prince of Orange, the ducal cap and other insignia of his office. A like ceremony was performed in other provinces of the North, and Francis was recognized as "Duke of Brabant and Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire."

Not much, however, could be reasonably expected of a prince of the House of Valois. Francis was neither better nor worse than his kinsmen. He had received his education in the school of absolutism, and could not understand or appreciate the free-born loyalty of the Dutch. To him, their principles and conduct seemed to be an end of all government. He was, moreover, the victim of an intense jealousy regarding the Prince of Orange, whose superior influence over the people he could but recognize. It was not long, under these conditions, until the duke entered into a plot with others like-minded with himself to overthrow the liberties of the Netherlands, and re-subject the Dutch to an absolute rule. His purpose in this regard was quickly discovered, and preparations were made to resist him. Nor was it long before an occasion was found for an outbreak. In January of 1583, the duke brought an army to Antwerp with a view to taking military possession of the city. The citizens, perceiving his intent, flew to arms, stretched chains across the streets, threw up barricades, and opposed force with force. A battle was fought in the city, and nearly a half of Anjou's army was destroyed by the rioters. The duke himself took flight in the direction of Dendermonde. Not satisfied with his expulsion, the patriots cut the dyke, and sent the sluices after him, swallowing up a thousand of his band. Finding his government suddenly overthrown, Anjou left the scene of his discomfiture, and sought refuge at Dunkirk.

In Flanders the Duke of Parma continued his conquests. One place after another was wrested from the patriots until only three Flemish towns remained in their possession. Still the cause was not extinguished, and one revolt rose upon the heels of another. Not the loss of their cities, however, not the devastation of their country, struck such terror into the soul of the Netherlanders as did the calamity which now darkened the land. In July of 1584 the Prince of Orange was assassinated. Philip at last found a murderer to his hand. A certain Balthazar Gerard, a Burgundian by birth, accomplished what five of like sort had failed to do in the course of the two preceding years. More adroit than the other villains, Gerard sought and gained admission to William's household at Delft, and there, watching his opportunity, shot the prince as he was coming from the dining hall. The assassin was immediately seized by the enraged Dutch, and tortured in a manner almost as horrible as the deed which he had committed.

But no vindictive cruelty done upon the murderer could restore the great leader upon whose strong arm the patriots of the Netherlands had leaned for so many years. William of Orange was indeed among the greatest and best of heroes. He had courage, steadfastness, devotion to liberty. In a dark and troublous time, when his country by the persecutions of her foes was brought time and again to the very verge of ruin, his invincible will and calm defiance still stood upright in the storm. Cheerful and genial in private intercourse, his judicious continence as it related to matters of state and public wel-

fare, his ability to gain a knowledge of the purpose of others without revealing his own, gained for him his sobriquet of the SILENT, and gave him his reputation as the most astute statesman of his times. His ample fortune was spent in the service of his country. Not all the *honors* and distinctions which Philip of Spain, or indeed all the sovereigns of Europe, could offer were sufficient to seduce him from the high and straight path of duty. He lived without fear and died without reproach.—As to the murderer, his family was rewarded according to the promise of the Spanish king, and three lordships in Franche-Comté were set aside as the *distinction* which the kinsmen of the assassin were to have for the perpetration of his infamous deed.

Prince William's second son, Maurice of Nassau, was appointed as his father's successor in the government of the Netherlands. His elder brother, the Count of Buren, was a prisoner in Spain, and was besides alienated from the affections of his countrymen. As to the Prince Maurice, he possessed many of the qualities of a great leader, but lacked the self-possession and persistency which had characterized his father.

Meanwhile, the siege of Antwerp was pressed with ever-increasing rigor by the Duke of Parma. For nearly a year the citizens held out against him. Sainte Aldegonde, who conducted the defense, seemed equal to every movement of his adversary. The Spaniards spent about six months in constructing a kind of fortified causeway below the city with a view to cutting off communications with the provinces next the sea, and in this work they were finally successful. The Dutch attempted to destroy the causeway by sending fire-ships against it; but their efforts were thwarted and themselves defeated in a hard-fought battle on the dykes. Antwerp fell. But the victory of the Spaniards was well-nigh barren. The people left the city. Public and private buildings were pulled down by the victors to obtain materials for the construction of a new citadel, and this, when completed, received a Spanish garrison. But the commerce of Antwerp ceased. Her wharves

SIEGE OF ANTWERP.

rotted away. Her bankers, who had controlled the money market of Europe, departed to foreign lands, and cattle were presently seen grazing in public squares recently thronged with thousands of busy tradesmen.

In the next epoch of the war, the queen of England appeared as a prominent figure. Deeply offended at the murder of William of Orange, and perceiving that she herself was likely to meet the same fate at the hands of some emissary of her *friend* Philip, she now openly sought to stay the tottering fortunes of Holland. She accordingly made an alliance with the Dutch, supplied them with money, and sent an army under the Earl of Leicester into the Netherlands. In return for these favors the states put into her hands the cities of Briel and Brest, and offered to make her sovereign of the country. It suited not her policy, however, to accept the honor; for so strongly was she imbued with the doctrines of absolutism in government, that although she desired Philip to be beaten in the war, she hoped to see the rebellious Hollanders reduced to obedience. Accordingly, when the Dutch—she herself having refused to accept the government—conferred the title of Governor-general upon the Earl of Leicester, she was so greatly angered that she sent to the States a savage paper so little in sympathy with them and their cause that they began to suspect her of a secret understanding with Philip. Nor was the suspicion without foundation in fact.

Meanwhile the cause of Dutch independence received blow after blow at the hands of the Duke of Parma. In September of 1586 the city of Zutphen was besieged by the Earl of Leicester, but he was unable to wrest the place from the Spaniards. During the siege, in a skirmish before the town, Sir Philip Sidney, one of the most chivalrous spirits and gallant soldiers of the age, was mortally wounded. It is narrated that when suffering from intolerable thirst, and about to receive a cup of water from an attendant, his attention was drawn to the agonizing glance of a dying soldier near by who also thirsted unto death. With the true spirit of a knight, he refused the cup himself and said to the poor fellow, whose eârs were already humming with the roar of other waters, "Take it, my friend; for thy necessity is greater than mine." Leicester finding it impossible to establish himself in authority, at length gave over the contest, and in the latter part of 1587 returned to England.

In the following year the attention of all Western Europe was drawn to the great invasion of the English dominions by the Spaniards. Philip's Invincible Armada sailed out of the Tagus and went forth to encounter St. George and Neptune. It will be remembered that the Duke of Parma, on coming down to the coast to take part in the invasion, found things in so sorry a plight under the management of the Duke of Medina, that he refused to embark. Meanwhile the Dutch, perceiving his situation, collected their fleet and blockaded Parma in the Flemish harbors. These movements changed the aspect of the war. Parma succeeded in extricating himself from his situation, but his soldiers suffered greatly for want of pay and failure of supplies. In this state of shattered fortune the duke was ordered to withdraw his half-mutinous army in the direction of France, for the crown of that kingdom had now gone to Henry of Navarre, and the Catholics were shaken with fear lest the Protestants, still dripping with the bloody sweat of St. Bartholomew, should take all things for themselves and turn the Ancient Church, like Hagar, into the wilderness to perish of despair.

Such was the change in affairs that enabled Prince Maurice, of Nassau, to reunite the seven provinces of the North, to subdue Flanders and Brabant, and establish himself on the line of the Meuse and the Scheldt. Before the close of 1592, however, the Prince of Parma had succeeded in recovering the Flemish provinces and holding them for Spain. In December of that year Parma died, and his office of governor-general fell to the archduke Ernest of Austria. But the latter was never able to extend his authority over the Northern Netherlands.

While the attention of Philip was thus diverted to France and England the Dutch made good use of the interval to build and equip the finest navy in Europe. That done, there was no longer a likelihood of the ultimate resubjugation of their country by Spain. The last decade of the sixteenth century wore on, and that Philip who never laughed except at the news of St. Bartholomew grew old

and feeble. He died, however, with his face set like stone against liberty, and his heart hardened against mankind. The last scene came in September of 1598. Like his father, the Spanish king died in disappointment and

JAN VAN OLDEN BARNEVELDT.

disgust, leaving his crown to his son, Philip III. The latter undertook to accomplish what Philip had failed to do—subdue the revolted provinces; but his efforts were balked and defeated. The Dutch fleet went forth into all seas, and wherever a Spanish ship could be found there a summary vengeance was taken upon the perfidious flag of Spain. Thus the war dragged on until 1609, when Philip III., wearied at last with a conflict which brought him nothing but the news of defeats and captured treasure-ships, consented to a truce with the Netherlands for twelve years. Such was the achievement of Dutch independence.

The Netherlanders now found that it was one thing to win freedom and another to be free. As soon as the genius of Catholicism, impersonated in the crown of Spain, was repelled from the North, the religious feud took a new form, not less destructive of human happiness than the old. For nearly forty years Catholic and Protestant had been imbruing their hands in each other's blood. Now the Protestants turned upon each other. The Calvinists and the Arminians succeeded in dividing the people of Holland into two parties, between which the strife raged with the same ferocity which had rent the country for nearly a half century. Prince Maurice himself appeared as a fomenter of this discord; for he hoped thereby to rise to the absolute sovereignty of the Netherlands. He took his stand at the head of the Calvinist party and was op-

MAP XVI.
EUROPE
During the Thirty Years War.
By A. von Steinwehr.
From Thalheimer's Mediæval History, by permission.
Scale of Miles.
0 50 100 200 300
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
Irish Sea
English Ch.
Bay of Biscay
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Baltic Sea
Gulf of Bothnia
Gulf of Finland
Gulf of Riga
Sea of Azov
BLACK SEA
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
Aberdeen
Edinburgh
Dublin
Liverpool
London
Bristol
Plymouth
Torbay
Brest
Bergen
Falun
Upsala
Stockholm
Arboga
Norkoping
Bahus
Calmar
Helsingborg
Copenhagen
Gothland
Oesel
Riga
Dorpat
Narva
Pskow
Novgorod
Tver
Moskow
Smolensk
Polotz
Witepsk
Mohilow
Tula
Orel
Kursk
Saratov
Simbirsk
Volga R.
Polga R.
Oka R.
Don R.
Donetz R.
Dniester R.
Dnieper R.
Bug R.
Vistula R.
Niemen R.
Duna R.
Elbe R.
Weser R.
Rhine R.
Seine R.
Loire R.
Garonne R.
Rhone R.
Po R.
Tiber R.
Arno R.
Danube R.
Thames R.
Severn R.
Humber R.
Wash
Sole B.
Yarmouth
Norwich
Lincoln
York
Manchester
Liverpool
Irish Sea
Dublin
Kinsale
Limerick
Galway
Drogheda
Belfast
Carrickfergus
Londonderry
Lough Neagh
Ireland
Scotland
England
Wales
Netherlands
Utrecht
Amsterdam
Haarlem
Leyden
Rotterdam
Antwerp
Ghent
Bruges
Ostend
Dunkirk
Calais
Boulogne
Arras
Cambresis
Quentin
Rouen
Dieppe
Havre
Caen
Cherbourg
Vire
Bayeux
Falaise
Evreux
Verneuil
Dreux
Chartres
Paris
St Germain
Versailles
Fontainebleau
Melun
Sens
Auxerre
Troyes
Vitry
Joinville
Metz
Nancy
Toul
Verdun
Rheims
Soissons
Laon
Amiens
Abbeville
Montreuil
Boulogne
Calais
Gravelines
Dunkirk
Ypres
Lille
Tournay
Mons
Namur
Liege
Maestricht
Aix
Cologne
Bonn
Coblentz
Treves
Mayence
Worms
Spires
Heidelberg
Manheim
Philippsburg
Landau
Weissenburg
Strasbourg
Colmar
Schlettstadt
Basle
Berne
Geneva
Lausanne
Sion
Martigny
Aosta
Ivrea
Turin
Susa
Pignerol
Saluzzo
Coni
Nice
Villefranche
Antibes
Frejus
Toulon
Marseilles
Arles
Avignon
Orange
Montelimart
Valence
Vienne
Lyons
Grenoble
Chambery
Annecy
Geneva
Besancon
Dijon
Langres
Chalons
Rheims
Sedan
Mezieres
Rocroi
Charleville
Montmedy
Thionville
Metz
Nancy
Epinal
Remiremont
Belfort
Montbeliard
Porrentruy
Soleure
Aarau
Zurich
Winterthur
Schaffhausen
Constance
Lindau
Memmingen
Kempten
Fussen
Innspruck
Botzen
Trent
Roveredo
Feltre
Belluno
Udine
Gorz
Trieste
Fiume
Carlstadt
Agram
Essek
Peterwardein
Semlin
Belgrade
Widdin
Nicopolis
Sophia
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Constantinople
Gallipoli
Rodosto
Heraclea
Sinope
Trebizond
Tokat
Amasia
Angora
Kutahia
Brussa
Nicomedia
Nicea
Scutari
Chalcedon
Prince's Is.
Sea of Marmora
Dardanelles
Gallipoli
Lemnos
Mitylene
Scio
Smyrna
Ephesus
Sardis
Magnesia
Thyatira
Pergamus
Adramyti
Satalia
Adana
Aleppo
Rakka
Euphrates R.
Damascus
Cyprus
Rhodes
Candia
Cerigo
Cythera
Navarino
Modon
Coron
Patras
Lepanto
Corfu
Janina
Durazzo
Valona
Otranto
Brundusium
Tarentum
Naples
Gaeta
Capua
Benevento
Aquila
Ancona
Rimini
Ravenna
Ferrara
Bologna
Modena
Parma
Mantua
Verona
Padua
Venice
Milan
Pavia
Novara
Vercelli
Alessandria
Asti
Mondovi
Genoa
Florence
Pisa
Lucca
Leghorn
Siena
Perugia
Orvieto
Viterbo
Rome
Civita Vecchia
Terracina
Gaeta
Capua
Aversa
Salerno
Amalfi
Sorrento
Gulf of Naples
Vesuvius
Ischia
Capri
Messina
Catania
Syracuse
Palermo
Trapani
Marsala
Girgenti
Sciacca
Augusta
Melazzo
Milazzo
Cagliari
Sardinia
Corsica
Bastia
Calvi
Ajaccio
Elba
Porto Ferrajo
Piombino
Orbitello
Civita Vecchia
Tunis
Bona
Algiers
Oran
Melilla
Fez
Tangiers
Ceuta
Gibraltar
Malaga
Almeria
Cartagena
Alicante
Valencia
Murcia
Ivica
Minorca
Majorca
Barcelona
Tarragona
Tortosa
Rosas
Saragossa
Catalonia
Navarre
Pyrenees
Biscay
Bilboa
Santander
Oviedo
Gijon
Corunna
Ferrol
Vigo B.
Oporto
Coimbra
Lisbon
Setubal
Cape St Vincent
Tagus R.
Douro R.
Guadiana R.
Guadalquivir R.
Cadiz
Seville
Cordova
Granada
Jaen
Badajoz
Alcantara
Toledo
Madrid
Escurial
Burgos
Valladolid
Zamora
Salamanca
Ciudad Rodrigo
Almeida
Castello Branco
Portalegre
Evora
Beja
Mertola
Faro
Tavira
Lagos
Sagres
Portugal
Spain
Andalusia
Estremadura
Leon
Old Castile
New Castile
Aragon
Valencia
Murcia
Granada
Andalusia
Navarre
Catalonia
Majorca
Minorca
Ivica
Sardinia
Corsica
Sicily
Malta
Naples
Kdm. Naples
Kdm. Sicily
Kdm. Portugal
Spanish Monarchy
Turkish Empire
Papal States
Church
Tuscany
Genoa
Venice
Milan
Savoy
Piedmont
Switzerland
Germany
Bohemia
Hungary
Poland
Prussia
Livonia
Courland
Lithuania
Finland
Russian Empire
Kdm. Denmark and Norway
Kdm. Sweden
Kdm. Poland
Kdm. Hungary
Kdm. Bohemia
Kdm. Prussia
Empire
Palatinate
Saxony
Brandenburg
Pomerania
Mecklenburg
Holstein
Hanover
Hesse
Wurtemberg
Bavaria
Austria
Tyrol
Moravia
Silesia
Lusatia
Transylvania
Moldavia
Wallachia
Bessarabia
Crimea
Tartary
Circassia
Georgia
Armenia
Persia
Kurdistan
Mesopotamia
Arabia
Egypt
Barbary
Algiers
Tunis
Morocco
Fez
Mellila
Oran
Bona
Tunis
Algiers
Barbary
Mediterranean
Adriatic Sea
Gulf of Venice
Gulf of Lyons
Gulf of Genoa
Gulf of Naples
Gulf of Taranto
Gulf of Patras
Gulf of Lepanto
Gulf of Smyrna
Gulf of Satalia
Gulf of Adana
Gulf of Alexandretta
Gulf of Candia
Gulf of Rhodes
Gulf of Cyprus
Gulf of Sidra
Gulf of Gabes
Gulf of Tunis
Gulf of Bona
Gulf of Algiers
Gulf of Oran
Gulf of Melilla
Gulf of Fez
Gulf of Tangiers
Gulf of Gibraltar
Gulf of Malaga
Gulf of Almeria
Gulf of Cartagena
Gulf of Alicante
Gulf of Valencia
Gulf of Murcia
Gulf of Ivica
Gulf of Majorca
Gulf of Minorca
Gulf of Rosas
Gulf of Tortosa
Gulf of Tarragona
Gulf of Barcelona
Gulf of Saragossa
Gulf of Navarre
Gulf of Biscay
Gulf of Bilboa
Gulf of Santander
Gulf of Oviedo
Gulf of Gijon
Gulf of Corunna
Gulf of Ferrol
Gulf of Vigo
Gulf of Oporto
Gulf of Coimbra
Gulf of Lisbon
Gulf of Setubal
Gulf of Cape St Vincent
Gulf of Sagres
Gulf of Lagos
Gulf of Faro
Gulf of Tavira
Gulf of Mertola
Gulf of Beja
Gulf of Evora
Gulf of Portalegre
Gulf of Castello Branco
Gulf of Almeida
Gulf of Ciudad Rodrigo
Gulf of Salamanca
Gulf of Zamora
Gulf of Valladolid
Gulf of Burgos
Gulf of Escurial
Gulf of Madrid
Gulf of Toledo
Gulf of Badajoz
Gulf of Alcantara
Gulf of Seville
Gulf of Cordova
Gulf of Granada
Gulf of Jaen
Gulf of Cadiz
Gulf of Seville
Gulf of Cordova
Gulf of Granada
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Gulf of Minorca
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Gulf of Burgos
Gulf of Escurial
Gulf of Madrid
Gulf of Toledo
Gulf of Badajoz
Gulf of Alcantara
Gulf of Seville
Gulf of Cordova
Gulf of Granada
Gulf of Jaen
Gulf of Cadiz

posed by the two distinguished patriots, Olden Barneveldt and Hugo Grotius. Never did two leaders deserve better of the people whom they sought to serve. Those whom they led took the name of *Remonstrants*, while the followers of Maurice were known as the *Anti-Remonstrants*—two names which are still used in the party jargon of Holland. At length the Remonstrants were put down. The venerable Barneveldt, then seventy-one years of age, was condemned to death, and was executed on the 13th of May, 1619. Grotius was condemned to imprisonment for life. The *crime* with which he was charged was the defense and support of religious toleration, but his political liberalism furnished the animus of the prosecution. He had written a book, his *Mare Librum* or *Free Sea*, in which he had advanced and defended the monstrous doctrine that the high seas are not the property of any king, but are and should be free to the ships of all nations. How could it be expected that the sixteenth century, aye, or the seventeenth, would permit a philosopher to live who had propounded so dreadful a political heresy as that? Grotius was thrown into prison in the castle of Lowenstein on the island between the Waal and Meuse. After two years of close confinement, he succeeded in making his escape, being aided in that adventure by his accomplished wife. Making his way into France, he was well received, became a pensioner of Louis XIII., and presently gave to the world his *De Bello et Pace*, his celebrated *Treatise on War and Peace*, a work so thoroughly profound and exhaustive as to become, and ever remain, the foundation of the Law of Nations.

CHAPTER CIV.—THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

NO one can thoughtfully view the condition of affairs in Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth century without perceiving the imminence of a great war. For more than seventy years the religious agitation had continued, now here, now there. Thus far the struggle had had a local aspect. At the first, Germany had been shaken, then England, then France, then Holland. As to Spain, the Reformation had made no progress therein, and in Italy the movement had been despised. In general it may be said that Protestantism flourished in the North, and withered in the South. The destinies of the cause had been as various as the countries in which it had struggled for recognition. In the greater part of Germany the triumph of the new faith was unequivocal. The same was true in England, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. But in France, though for the moment on the accession of Henry of Navarre, it appeared that the Protestants had gained the day, the Catholics really retained the ascendency. Before the House of Bourbon could secure a recognition as ruling in verity and by right, the great representative and founder of that dynasty was obliged to return to the bosom of the Mother Church. In Spain, Catholicism had had little trouble in keeping its ancient dominion. What with the Jesuits and what with the Inquisition, the heretical doctrines of the reformers had been eradicated as fast as they were planted in the countries south of the Pyrennees and the Alps.

Thus far, however, there had been no general or international conflict of the Catholics and the Protestants. Many symptoms had already appeared of the formation of a general league of the states still holding the ancient religion against those which had adopted the reformed faith. Nor could he who understood the genius and constitution of Rome, fail to perceive that she would yet rally into one phalanx those kingdoms that still recognized her supremacy and send them forth in a final campaign for the recovery of her lost inheritance. The time had now come when all the organic powers of the Romish hierarchy were to be put in motion for the suppression of the great Protestant schism, and as a consequence for the combination of the reformed states to

prevent this result. The struggle consequent upon these antecedent conditions is known as the THIRTY YEARS' WAR. The conflict—though its beginning was not so clearly defined as its end—may be said to have begun with the storming of the Council Hall in Prague, on the 23d of May, 1618, and to have ended with the treaty of Westphalia, concluded on the 24th of October, 1648. It is the purpose in the present chapter to present an outline of the principal events and general course of this great and inglorious war by which Europe was devasted for more than a quarter of a century.

Like the Reformation, of which it was the closing act, the Thirty Years' War had its origin in Germany. Nor could it have been foreseen how great a conflagration would presently be kindled from so small a flame. The premonitory symptoms of the struggle were first seen in Styria. Duke Ferdinand of that principality, a cousin to Emperor Rudolph II., issued an edict for the restoration of the ancient religion. This was done in the face of the fact that a great majority of his subjects were Protestants. As might have been anticipated, his mandate was met with a refusal. Adopting the theory of Philip II., that it was better to rule over an orthodox desert than a heretical paradise, Ferdinand organized an armed force, and, marching from place to place in his dominions, proceeded to carry his edict into effect. The reformed churches were closed or demolished, the hymn-books and Bibles of the people seized and burned, and a decree of banishment promulgated against all who would not return to the Holy Church.

In the next year, namely, in 1607, Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, emulous of the pious example set by Ferdinand, proceeded in like manner to overthrow the religion which his people had chosen. It happened at this time that the inhabitants of Donauwörth became involved in a quarrel with a neighboring monastery. Though this city was not a part of Maximilian's duchy, he took up the cause of the monks and seized Donauwörth. The latter hereupon appealed to the diet of the Empire, but a majority of the members of that body were Catholics, and the appeal was unheeded. This led to the formation of a Union of the states of Southern Germany for the defense of their rights against the aggressions of the Romish party. The Protestant states of Northern Germany, however, would not enter into this confederation, for the reason that the southern Protestants had adopted the doctrines of Calvinism, thus giving in their adherence to the so-called *Reformed* Church as against the *Lutheran* Church of Germany.

The formation of the PROTESTANT UNION in the South led to the establishment, under the auspices of Duke Maximilian, of the CATHOLIC LEAGUE for the support of the position taken by the rulers of Styria and Bavaria. From the first, the promoters of these two leagues looked abroad, and expected the aid of powerful auxiliaries. The Union stretched out its hands to Henry IV. of France, and the League to Philip III. of Spain. Both parties made preparation for war, and a conflict was about to be precipitated, when the attention of the parties, and, indeed, of all Germany, was unexpectedly called to a crisis which had occurred in the duchy of Cleves.

In 1609, Duke John William of that principality, as also of Jülich and Berg, as well as of the counties of Ravensberg and Mark, died, leaving no male heir to succeed him. The people of the territories which he had ruled were Protestants; himself, a Catholic. Two claimants, John Sigismund of Brandenburg and Wolfgang William of the Bavarian Palatinate, both related through the female line to the deceased Duke of Cleves, now came forward with their supporters to secure the inheritance. The Protestants, perceiving that they were about to be overreached by their adversaries, took advantage of their superiority in numbers, and seized the duchy by force.

Learning of this action, the Emperor Rudolph II. sent the Archduke Leopold of Hapsburg to take possession of Cleves, and to hold it under the Imperial authority. At this, the Protestant Union at once appealed for aid to Henry IV. of France, and that prince was on the eve of espousing the cause when he was assassinated. This event changed for a while the whole current of affairs. The Union and the League were both so averse to the usurpation of Leopold that they now laid aside

their religious quarrel, and united to prevent the formation of another Austrian principality on the Lower Rhine.

The two candidates for the Cleves duchy, however, still pressed their claims. Each sought to strengthen his support by a change of religion. Wolfgang William became a Catholic to gain the influence of the League, and at the same time married the sister of Maximilian. John Sigismund went over to the Protestants in the hope of securing their support. Each of the rivals also sought foreign aid, and both received assistance out of the Netherlands. From that country a body of Spanish troops came into Germany to offer their services to William, and a division of Dutch soldiers from Holland enlisted under the banner of Sigismund. The war that ensued continued for nearly four years, and was closed by a treaty in 1614. A compromise was effected, but the larger part of the disputed territories fell to John Sigismund.

Eight years before the event just mentioned, the Emperor Rudolph II., who had grown old, fretful, and foolish, was deposed by the Diet "on account," as was said by that body, "of occasional imbecilities of mind." His brother Matthias was made regent in his stead. The old Emperor, however, still had intelligence enough to understand the degradation to which he had been subjected, and refused to yield to the edict of the diet. But the princes of the Empire, especially the Protestants, came to the support of Matthias, and he was confirmed in authority. In doing so, they took care that the regent should make large concessions in the direction of religious toleration. This fact gave the old Emperor still further ground of opposition. There was an attempt to annul the concessions which had been made; and the Bohemians sought to prevent this action. They rallied around Matthias, and Rudolph was driven out of Prague. "May the vengeance of God overtake thee," said he, as he looked back at the city gates, "and my curse light on thee and all Bohemia."

In 1612 the deposed Emperor died, and MATTHIAS succeeded him in the Imperial dignity. His first measure on coming to the throne was to convene a diet for the purpose of settling the religious disputes of Germany. When that body was assembled, however, the Protestant members, finding themselves outnumbered, withdrew, and thus broke up the diet. Matthias hereupon sought to dissolve both the League and the Union, but in this he could not succeed. Meanwhile, his authority in Hungary was almost overthrown by an insurrection headed by Bethlen Gabor, a chief of Transylvania, who was aided by the Turks.

So great were the embarrassments under which Matthias found himself, that he shrank from the performance of his Imperial duties. Having no children of his own, he gave his attention to the succession, and at length nominated Duke Ferdinand of Styria to succeed him. The latter was a man of great energy of character, a thorough Jesuit, stern and bigoted, ambitious for the restoration of Catholicism. In proportion as he was acceptable to the Catholics of the Empire he was dreaded and antagonized by the Protestants. Nevertheless, he gave to the latter a grant of toleration in return for their support as king of Bohemia. Having been confirmed as ruler of that country, he now joined Matthias in an expedition against the insurgents of Hungary. During his absence, Bohemia was to be governed by a council of ten, seven of whom were Catholics and three Protestants.

No sooner, however, was the king away than the majority of this body began to persecute the minority, to destroy churches and confiscate their property. The Protestants, in their distress, appealed to the Emperor, Matthias; but the latter treated the petitioners with contempt and aversion. Seeing themselves about to be delivered into the hands of their enemies, they rose in insurrection, gained possession of Prague, stormed the City Hall, and threw two of the Councilors, together with their secretaries, out of the windows. Though the distance of the fall was twenty-eight feet, the expelled members escaped with their lives. This event, so audacious and tragical, happened on the 23d of May, 1618, and is generally cited as the beginning of the Thirty Years' War.

At this time the Protestants were, as it respects the people of Germany, in a majority of four to one, but the princes of the Empire were mostly on the other side. It appears that the former party, relying upon its numer-

ical superiority, did not properly appreciate the compactness, persistency, and force of the old organization with which it now had to contend. None the less the Protestants of Bohemia perceiving that retaliation quick and sharp was sure to follow the outbreak in Prague, deemed it wise to widen the area of the revolt and convert it into a revolution. They accordingly chose Count Thurn as their leader, overthrew the Imperial authority in Bohemia, expelled the Jesuits from the country, and entered into a correspondenee with their friends, the Protestant nobles of Austria, and also with Bethlen Gabor of Hungary.

As for Emperor Matthias, he would gladly have compromised the difficulty which had become so alarming among his subjects; but Ferdinand, who was a man of greater force of will, and withal a fiery zealot of Rome, completely under the influence of the Jesuits, would hear to nothing but suppression. Two armies were accordingly sent into Bohemia. But the people of that country were aided by a force of four thousand men under Count Mansfeld, and also by a Silesian contingent of three thousand. In the first general battle of the war the Imperialists were defeated and driven back to the Danube. Such was the condition of affairs when, on the 20th of May, 1619, Matthias died. To seize upon the Imperial authority became at once the prevailing ambition with Ferdinand.

But to succeed in his purposes was no easy task. The Hungarians had now openly espoused the cause of Bohemia. Austria herself was on the eve of general revolt; nor had Ferdinand for the time any adequate force with which to support his claims. On the other hand, the Protestant army, led by Count Thurn, was already on the march against Vienna. Encamping before the walls of the city, the count opened negotiations with the king, and the latter was about to yield to the demands of his subjects when a body of cavalry made its way through the lines of the besiegers and came to his support. Thus strengthened, he was enabled to hold the city, and when the news came that Count Mansfeld had suffered a defeat, the king dismissed all thought of compromise. Count Thurn was obliged to raise the siege, and when in August the Diet was convened at Frankfort, the king readily found opportunity to attend the meeting and promote his election to the Imperial crown.

Against all probability in the premises, the three Protestant electors were induced to give their votes to Ferdinand. It was afterwards alleged that they were bribed so to do by the Jesuits. The greater likelihood is that they received from the candidate such pledges respecting religious toleration as to induce the belief, or at least the hope, that he would deal justly by their party. At any rate, he secured all the votes, and was crowned in the cathedral at Frankfort as FERDINAND II.

Perceiving that their cause was about to be ruined, the Bohemians refused to ratify the choice, and proceeded to choose as their king the prince palatine, Frederick V. This action was taken in the hope that the Protestant Union would rally to the support of the new election. But not so the event. When the Emperor came against Bohemia, the princes of the Union left Frederick to his fate. The latter was a Calvinist, and this fact made the Lutherans indifferent or averse to his cause. John George of Saxony actually went over to the Imperialists and aided Ferdinand to put down the rebellion. The Emperor for his part promised that the war should go no further than Bohemia, that being the only country in revolt.

Frederick did not appear to realize his critical condition. On the contrary, he spent the winter of 1619–20 in foolish pleasures, and when the campaign of the next summer began, he was unprepared to meet it. When the Imperial army of Spaniards, Italians, and mercenary Cossacks came against him, he was obliged to fall back to Prague. Here, outside of the walls, in November of 1620, was fought the battle of White Mountain, in which the Bohemians were utterly discomfited. Frederick V. fled from the country; his army was scattered and his kingdom given up to the rage and lust of one of the most brutal military forces seen in Europe since the days of the Huns. The Cossacks to the number of eight thousand were loosed to take their fill. Twenty-eight Protestant nobles were beheaded in Prague in a single day. The churches were given to the Catholics; the University to the Jesuits. Thousands of estates were divided

among the victors; Ferdinand is said to have taken forty millions of florins from the Bohemians; nor did the Imperialists desist from confiscation, murder, and robbery, until the last signs of life were seemingly extinct in Bohemian Protestantism. A like proceeding was instituted in Austria, and at the end of a year only a few congregations on the outskirts of Hungary and Transylvania remained to tell the story of the rising civilization, freedom, and progress which had come with the Reformation.

This result in Austria, however, was not accomplished without a struggle which deserved a better issue. The people rose to defend their faith against the Emperor's despotism. A popular leader was found in a farmer named Stephen Fadinger who, without military education or experience, led the Protestants to battle. They fought with such courage as to be on the point of victory, when Fadinger was killed. The command then devolved upon a student *whose name is unknown*, and by him the battle was urged on until he also was slain. His followers were either killed or dispersed. A silence settled over Austria like that which had already fallen on Bohemia. The pall of the ancient faith was stretched from one horizon to the other, and all was still. Ferdinand had triumphed, and liberty lay dying among the ashes of Austrian greatness.

The next scene of the conflict was in the palatinate of the Rhine. It was hoped that this prosperous region, at any rate, could be saved to Protestantism. An army of Spaniards out of Flanders was first in the field, but this was soon opposed by Count Ernest of Mansfeld and Prince Christian of Brunswick, both of whom had lent some aid to Frederick V. in Bohemia. The armies which these leaders gathered about them, however, were mostly wild and reckless men, little able to confront the veterans of Spain and the Empire. Ernest and Christian both adopted the policy of supporting their forces by contributions levied on the country—a method of warfare already unpopular in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Christian of Brunswick was possessed of some foolish notions about the restoration of chivalry. He had for his divinity the Countess Elizabeth of the palatinate, sister of Charles I. of England, and, after the manner of a mediæval knight, he wore her glove on his helmet. He was, withal, an eccentric genius, not without wit and great abilities. On a certain occasion, when his supply of money was exhausted, he seized the cathedral at Paderborn, and, on entering, was delighted to find the twelve apostles, in cast silver, standing around the altar. "What are you doing here?" said he; "you are ordered to go forth into the world; but wait a bit—I'll send you!" Thereupon, he had the silver statues taken down and melted into dollars, and upon each coin he had these words stamped: *Friend of God—foe of the priests.* Finding the caption a taking one, he assumed it himself, but among the soldiers he was generally known as "Mad Christian."

These two Protestant leaders were soon joined by George Frederick of Baden. Against them the Emperor Ferdinand sent Maximilian of Bavaria—to whom he promised the palatinate as the reward of victory—and JOHANN TSERCLAES TILLY, a veteran German soldier of Brabant, who had already, in 1621, driven Count Mansfeld from Bohemia. This remarkable personage, destined to bear so important a part in the tragical history of his times, was one of the strangest characters of the century. His body was lean and ill-favored; his face, twisted into a sort of comical ugliness, emphasized with a nose like the beak of a parrot. His forehead was furrowed crosswise with deep seams, and above his projecting cheek-bones his small eyes were set deep in their sockets. As if to heighten the disesteem of nature, he generally wore a green dress with a cocked hat and a long red feather; and, having thus made himself as grotesque as possible, he completed the *tout ensemble* by mounting a little gray horse of a figure and proportions in harmony with his own. But whoever failed to perceive in the gorgeous dwarf the fires of an unquenchable genius was likely to discover his mistake.

At the first onset, in 1622, Tilly's army suffered a defeat at the hands of Mansfeld and Christian. But the reverse was but momentary. In May of that year the Imperialists again struck the Protestants at Wimpfen, and inflicted on them a disastrous defeat. The fragments of the overthrown army fell back into Alsatia, where, in imitation of the

policy adopted by the Emperor's generals, they burned, robbed, and ravaged at will. After his victory, Tilly pursued the same plan on the east bank of the Rhine, where he destroyed Manheim and Heidelberg, shut up the churches and schools, drove the preachers and teachers into banishment, and installed the Jesuits in their places. Seizing the library of Heidelberg, at that time one of the finest in Europe, he sent it to Rome as a present to Pope Gregory XV. The collection remained among the treasures of the Vatican until the treaty of Vienna, in 1815, when a part of it was restored to Heidelberg.

In the mean time Frederick V. had, after his flight from Bohemia, shown himself unworthy of the cause by entering into correspondence with the Emperor. He made offer to Ferdinand of submission on condition of receiving the palatinate; but the Emperor paid little attention to the overture. Learning of Frederick's conduct, Mansfeld and Christian also showed their quality by offering to enter the Imperial service if Ferdinand would pay their soldiers! But this offer was also declined, whereupon the two generals fell upon Lorraine and Flanders, ravaged the country after the style which

DESTRUCTION OF HEIDELBERG.

had been adopted by both parties, and made their way into Holland.

In accordance with the scheme which had been agreed upon, the Emperor now conferred the electoral dignity of the palatinate on Maximilian of Bavaria; and this action, though in direct contravention to the laws of the Empire, was ratified, in 1623, at the Diet of Ratisbon. As to John George of Saxony, he was bribed into silence by the promise of receiving Lusatia as a part of his dominions.

Perhaps, in the whole history of Germany, there never was a time when affairs were in a more deplorable condition than just subsequent to the Diet of Ratisbon. The Jesuits had become masters of the country. Ferdinand was their agent and tool. His generals were but subordinates in the nefarious act by which it was sought to reverse the wheels of civilization. On the other hand, the leaders of the Protestants were scarcely wiser or better and much less consistent than their adversaries. The remaining virtue of the German race lay with the people, and the people were completely down. Their rights were trodden under the heels of power. Their property was seized and consumed by lawless bands of marauders, and the reign of license was established over the prostrate forms of justice and right.

The Protestants of other lands were horrified at the state of their cause in Germany. England, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden would fain have rendered aid to their German friends, but the latter seemed unworthy to receive the support of any honest kingdom. As to France, now thoroughly dominated by the great Cardinal Richelieu, minister of Louis XIII., that power, though never more thoroughly Catholic in its sentiments, was also willing for political reasons to see the prostrate Protestants of Germany arise from their overthrow; for the cardinal believed it to be to the interest of his master—and himself—that the ambition of Ferdinand should be curtailed and thwarted. At length England and Holland began to take an active part in the conflict by encouraging Mansfeld and Christian to raise new armies and by furnishing the means necessary for that work. It was not long until the fantastic Christian found himself at the head of a considerable force, with which he entered Friesland and Westphalia, ravaging the country according to his manner. His object at this time was to make his way into and through Bohemia, and to join his forces with those of Bethlen Gabor. But in endeavoring to accomplish this march he was, on the 6th of August, 1623, encountered by Tilly at Stadtloon, near Münster. Here a battle was fought by far the most destructive and hotly contested of any that had yet occurred. For three days the conflict raged almost without abatement, but at the last the army of Christian was almost annihilated. Before this battle Count Mansfeld had deemed it prudent to secure a more positive alliance with England, and to this end had gone thither in person. Thus for a time the Protestants were virtually without a leader. Even Bethlen Gabor had been induced to lay down his arms and make peace with the Emperor. Tilly had meanwhile marched into Westphalia and put down all opposition. Indeed, for the time it appeared that rebellion would not be able any longer to lift its head.

Scarcely is it doubtful that if Ferdinand II. had adopted the generous policy of establishing on a liberal basis the peace which his generals had won by the sword, a certain measure of quiet might have been restored throughout the Empire. But when did ever tyrannical folly pause in its career until it had first destroyed itself? Instead of availing himself of the opportunity to restore peace, he set loose his agents in all parts of the Imperial dominions to consume the residue which war had left to the suffering people. There was complete concord between him and the princes in the sad work which they now undertook of destroying the remnants of religious toleration and civil freedom in all the countries where the same still exhibited signs of life.

During the year 1624, the suffering Protestants bore their fate in silence; but in 1625 the states of Brunswick, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen suddenly arose from their humiliation, and choosing for their leader Christian IV. of Denmark, set the Imperial authority at defiance. He it was who, though a Protestant himself, had recently attacked and broken up the Hanseatic League, and even now it might be discovered that his purpose looked less to the

emancipation of the states of Northern Germany than to his own aggrandizement. But whatever might be his own personal ends, he entered the contest with a will, and by concluding a treaty with England and Holland, secured the coöperation of those countries, and soon sent Count Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick into the field at the head of new armies.

In order to meet the new movements of his adversaries, Tilly was constrained to enter the territories of those states which had put themselves under the protection of Christian IV. The latter thus gained the coveted excuse for declaring war. Assuming the aggressive, the Danish king came down from his own country and entered the borders of the protected states, but here he quickly perceived the union among his allies was little more than a name. Only seven thousand men were found prepared to join his standard. By the energy of his character, however, he soon diffused a better spirit and gathered to his camp a large and enthusiastic army. With this force it was his purpose to fall upon Tilly and destroy him before any of the Imperialist generals could come to his aid. But before the Dane could strike the intended blow, he had the misfortune to be badly injured by falling from his horse. The campaign was thus delayed during the better part of the autumn, and the year 1625 closed without any decisive event.

It is in the nature of despotism to cure itself with its own methods. The baneful system, full of poison in every part, turns about in its endeavor to find that upon which to gratify its malice, and fastens its fangs in its own pernicious side. By this time Ferdinand II. had become jealous of Tilly, and especially of Bavaria, from which country most of the Imperial soldiery had been recruited. The Emperor himself aspired to become a great military leader; for it was in the nature of the times that such a leader could without difficulty draw to his banners a powerful army, ready to do his bidding. Ferdinand would therefore enter the field in person. Should he not do so, Tilly would himself bear the credit of having restored the German world to Rome. For the present, however, it seemed necessary that Tilly should be reïnforced in order to withstand the army of King Christian.

It was in this emergency that a new actor appeared on the scene in the person of Albrecht Wenzel Eusebius von Wallenstein, duke of Friedland, destined to take a most conspicuous part in the historical movements of the age. Born in Prague in 1583; son of a poor nobleman; unruly and violent as a boy until what time a fall from the third story of a house, by rendering him unconscious for a season, left him of a gloomy and taciturn disposition; induced by the Jesuits to abandon Protestantism, and by them educated at Olmütz; a traveler in Spain, France, and the Netherlands; a soldier in the Italian and Venetian wars, and afterwards against Bethlen Gabor in Hungary; rising to military reputation by his valor; amassing great wealth by two prosperous marriages and by the confiscation of sixty Protestant estates; recognized by the Emperor as a power in his own principality of Friedland, where he lived in the manner of a king; under the domination of strange superstitions which had taken root in his nature from the study of Astrology; hearing voices which sounded in his ear with the wierd accents with which the prophetic witches allured Macbeth to the high and bloody precipice from which he was to fall into irretrievable ruin; and believing that the Emperor's present necessities afforded the opportunity by which he was to rise to the realization of his ambitions,—Wallenstein now arose in his province and offered to raise and command a new Imperial army against the Danish king and the forces of the Union.

The nature and disposition of Wallenstein were well illustrated in his correspondence with Ferdinand, who was overjoyed at the rising of this giant from the earth. The Emperor at once ordered the duke to enlist and discipline an army of twenty thousand men. Wallenstein replied: "Twenty thousand men are not enough. My army must live by what it can take. I must have fifty thousand, and then I can demand what I want."

The event fully justified Ferdinand's expectation. Within three months Wallenstein marched into Saxony at the head of more than thirty thousand men. It was, however, already the beginning of winter, and military operations were necessarily suspended until the spring of 1626. In April of that year the

campaign was begun by Mansfeld, who attempted to prevent the junction of the armies of Tilly and Wallenstein. The army of the latter was met at the bridge of the Elbe, near Dessau, and here a terrible battle was fought, in which Mansfeld was badly defeated. Driven from his position, he fell back through Silesia with the purpose of joining the still insurgent Hungarians. But Wallenstein pressed hard after him, and before the count could effect a union with Bethlen Gabor—who until now remained in command of the Protestants of Hungary—induced him to make peace with the Emperor. On his part, Mansfeld was obliged to disband his troops. Thus enabled to escape the dilemma in which he found himself, he left the country for Venice, with a view of embarking from that city for England. But before he could reach his destination he died in Dalmatia. Prince Christian of Brunswick died also a few months later, and the Germans found themselves without any prominent leader of their own race.

A short time after the battle of Dessau, Tilly, commanding the other Imperial army, marched against Christian IV., and came upon him at Lutter, in the northern borders of the Hartz. Here the battle went against the Protestants more decisively even than that between Wallenstein and Mansfeld. The army of the Swedish king was routed and dispersed, he himself barely escaping with his life. With what remnants he could gather from the conflict he retreated into Holstein. Hereupon Brandenburg withdrew from the Union. Mecklenburg was paralyzed by the disaster. Maurice, of Saxony, was forced to abdicate. The Emperor found himself in a position to press still more severely his measures against the remaining Protestants of Austria and Bohemia, who were compelled by force to return to the Catholic communion. For the time it appeared that the cause for which Huss and Jerome had perished, for which Luther had battled and Zwingli pleaded, was prostrated, never to rise again.

THE BRIDGE OF DESSAU.

After his victory over Mansfeld, Wallenstein, with an army now swollen to forty thousand, marched to the North and fell upon Saxony. Prince John George now drank to the dregs the cup of folly and cowardice, which himself had mixed. The country was trodden under foot without mercy; towns were burned, and the people robbed and plundered. Brandenburg next paid the forfeit to which she had exposed herself by becoming a member of the Union. The two duchies of Mecklenburg were in like manner overrun and destroyed by the merciless Wallenstein, who continued his victorious course into Holstein, Jutland, and Pomerania. Having completed his campaign, he received Mecklenburg from the Emperor, and assumed for himself the title of "Admiral of the Baltic and the Ocean." He excogitated a vast scheme for a new power in the North. The Hanseatic League was to be broken up, and the ships belonging thereto were to be converted into an Imperial navy. Holland was to be reconquered and added to the dominions of the Empire. The arms of Poland were to be added to his own, and then the conqueror would bear the sword of doom to Denmark and Sweden, which were now—besides England—the only important states remaining to Protestantism. To what extent Wallenstein saw himself among these magnificent schemes of conquest it were vain to conjecture. For the present the work was to be done in the name, and as if in the interest, of the House of Hapsburg.

It appears that the great duke was little apprehensive of successful opposition; and for a while the event seemed to warrant a belief in his infallibility. The opulent cities of Hamburg and Lübeck surrendered at his approach. Not so, however, the little Hanseatic town of Stralsund. With a courage unequaled, this audacious municipality closed its gates against the invader, and the citizens entered into a solemn compact to keep him at bay, or die to the last man in the heroic effort. Hearing of their resolution, Wallenstein merely replied that if Stralsund were anchored to heaven with a chain he would tear it loose. In the summer of 1628 he invested the city, and presently ordered an assault, which resulted in the loss of a thousand men. A second assault cost him two thousand more, and then the citizens began to sally from the gates and strike savage blows in return. Finding that Wallenstein was actually checked if not perplexed by the obstinate resistance of Stralsund, a force of two thousand Swedes came to the assistance of the besieged, and Wallenstein, after losing more than one-fourth of his army, was obliged to give up the siege as hopeless. At the same time a Danish fleet of two hundred ships succeeded in recovering the harbor of Wolgast in Mecklenburg, and it appeared that the Imperial invasion was permanently checked.

None the less, neither Ferdinand nor his generals were apprehensive of any further reverses. On the contrary, the Emperor regarded the conquest of Germany as complete. In March of 1629 he issued what he was pleased to call the "Edict of Restitution," in which it was ordered that all the territories and benefices which had belonged to the Protestants should be restored to the Catholics. The measure involved the creation of two archbishoprics, twelve bishoprics, and a great number of monasteries in a territory where those institutions had ceased to exist a hundred years previously. And then on the Romish principle that the religion of the people should be determined by that of their rulers, it would follow as a matter of course and necessity that Protestantism must cease altogether in the reconstructed districts.

For a while after the issuance of this decree the Imperial armies were kept in the field for its enforcement. Never was a measure carried into effect with greater rigor or with more willing hands. Throughout Southern Germany it appeared that the Emperor's troops would stamp into the very earth the residue of the Lutheran heresy. In Franconia, Würtemberg, and Baden the estates of six thousand Protestant noblemen were at once confiscated; nor were the Imperial officers at all careful to hand over to the Catholics the immense property which they thus snatched from its rightful owners. Much of this was bestowed by Ferdinand upon his favorites and the members of his own family. The great and wealthy archbishoprics of Bremen and Magdeburg were given to the Emperor's son Leopold, at that time a stripling but fifteen years of age. Such was the high-handed outrage of this proceeding against human liberty and the common

decencies of justice that even the Catholics began to mutter ominously against the conduct of Ferdinand. The despotism of the latter, however, was fairly eclipsed by the splendid arrogance of Wallenstein, whose tyranny and pride blazed like the flaming animosity of Lucifer. He declared that the liberalizing tendencies which had dominated Germany for the last hundred years should be crushed into the ground; that the reigning princes were useless figureheads in the Imperial system; that the National Diet should be abolished, and that the Emperor should become as absolute in his rule as the kings of France and Spain. But the general effect of this attitude of the warrior prince and his master was to intensify and quicken the growing hostility of all parties to the system which was about to be established. To such an extent was this tendency manifest that the Catholics and Protestants presently united in doing the very thing which the Emperor and Wallenstein would interdict, namely, the calling of a National Diet. In spite of their opposition the body was convoked, and the assembly convened at Ratisbon in June of 1630.

As soon as the diet was organized, a clamor arose for the removal of Wallenstein. At first Ferdinand stoutly endeavored to sustain the great prince upon whom he chiefly leaned for support. But the opposition, headed by Maximilian of Bavaria, was clearly in a position to enforce its demands. On the west and north, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, and France were all threatening war. The Emperor was thus rendered dependent upon his diet for the enactment of such measures as might ward off the impending danger. The Protestants in the assembly set forth the rapacity and fury with which Wallenstein had plundered all Germany, and the Catholics did not withhold their voice in charging home his crimes upon him. What added more than any thing else to his unpopularity, was his unparalleled ostentation. His court was like that of a great monarch. His ordinary retinue consisted of a hundred carriages. More than a thousand horses were kept in his stables. A hundred cooks served him at the table, and sixteen pages of princely blood attended to his wants. Jealousy at this assumption of royal state was so inflamed that Ferdinand, greatly against his wish, was constrained to assent to an edict for Wallenstein's removal.

Perhaps a company of ambassadors never discharged their duty with greater trepidation than did those who bore the message of deposition to Wallenstein's camp. They came into his presence with dread, and durst not make known their mission; but he having divined upon what errand they had come, pointed significantly to a chart upon which were drawn the symbols of astrology, and told them to proceed, as he knew their business before their arrival. He expressed his purpose to obey the Imperial mandate, entertained the ambassadors with a magnificent banquet, and then retired to Prague without any outward manifestation of the furnace of rage within him. Albeit he perceived with perfect clearness that perilous condition of public affairs which must erelong make his restoration a necessity.

As soon as Wallenstein's deposition was effected the command of the Imperial army was transferred to Tilly. The Emperor knew full well that the soldiers lately commanded by the great duke were devoted to *him* rather than to the crown; and in order to prevent a disaster which at any time might be precipitated by a disloyal army, the forces of Wallenstein were divided into small bands and distributed among inferior generals.

By a strange counterposition of events—of which not a few examples may be discovered by the careful reader of history—it now happened that just as the Imperialists of Germany, by their own internal dissensions and jealousies, lost their greatest leader, the Protestants, who up to this time had not possessed a general worthy of their cause, gained one fully as great as he whom the Catholics had deposed. For now it was that out of the snows of the North arose the august figure of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, king of Sweden. In that country Charles IX., son of Gustavus Vasa, after a reign of fourteen years, had died in 1611, leaving his crown to his son Gustavus, then but seventeen years of age. A sterling Protestant in faith and ambitious of military renown, he soon became an active participant in the great drama of the age. In 1627 he made war with the Poles, and was repulsed and wounded in the bloody battle of Dantzic. The Emperor Ferdinand then

placed him under the ban of the Empire, and sent Wallenstein with an army of ten thousand men to confront him in Pomerania. In the contest that ensued Gustavus held his own with the Imperialists until what time France and England interfered, and a truce was concluded favorable to Gustavus. Soon, however, hostilities broke out anew, and the Swedish king determined to make an invasion of the Imperial dominions. He accordingly raised an army, and on the 4th of July, 1630, landed with a force of sixteen thousand men on the coast of Pomerania. Flinging himself upon the ground in the presence of his army he offered up a devout prayer that his arms might be crowned with victory and the cause of Protestantism be reëstablished in the lands where it had been overthrown.

Not without much difficulty had this expedition of the Swedes into Germany been undertaken. The king's plans had been seriously opposed by his counselors at Stockholm. They had advised him to desist from the undertaking, and to abate his zeal until what time the bigotry and madness of Ferdinand should fill the cup of his offenses. But Gustavus could not be dissuaded from his purpose. He went before the representatives of the four orders of the people in the Council House, bearing in his arms his daughter Christina, and to her he induced them to take the oath of fealty.

Perhaps no other royal personage of his century was, in his personal appearance, so distinguished as Gustavus Adolphus. He was, at the time of his landing in Pomerania, in his full prime, being thirty-four years of age. He was almost a giant in his stature; powerful in his build, symmetrical, sinewy, active, and fresh as a boy in his ruddy, Swedish countenance. Nothing could present a stronger contrast than did this royal Hercules of the North to the withered and weazen Tilly, or to that solemn Mephistopheles of war, the star-reading, smileless Wallenstein. Nevertheless, the issues of battle were not—are not—to be decided by the relative beauty of the warriors. It was important in the present fortunes of the German Protestants that Gustavus, though not a German himself, was descended from the same Teutonic stock with themselves, and might not, therefore, be looked upon as a foreigner.

Nothing can better illustrate the pitiable condition of Germany and of the German people at this juncture than the manner of Gustavus's reception in the land which he had come to deliver. Instead of rushing to his support, the selfish Protestant princes turned from him in a spirit of meanness rarely equaled, never surpassed. The Pomeranians shut against him the gates of Stettin, and the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony gave him neither aid nor comfort. Only those who had nothing to bring, and they few and hungry, joined his standard. It was evident from the first that the reliance of the daring Swede must be placed in his own small army of veterans.

Notwithstanding the coldness or positive hostility with which he was received, Gustavus succeeded, in the course of the campaign of 1630, in overthrowing the Imperial authority in Pomerania. He then turned upon his friend, the elector of Brandenburg, and compelled him to give over the fortress of Spandau to be used as a base of operations by the Swedes. He captured Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and next proceeded to the relief of Magdeburg. This city, which with singular patriotism and persistency had resisted the Edict of Restitution, was now suffering a siege at the hands of Tilly and Gottfried Heinrich Pappenheim, the latter of whom, from being a regimental commander in 1623, had risen to a rank next to that of the commander-in-chief. In undertaking the relief of the place, Gustavus demanded of John George of Saxony the privilege of marching through his electorate; but that cowardly prince—though he was one of those most interested in the success of the Swedes—refused to grant them free passage.

The garrison of Magdeburg amounted to no more than twenty-three hundred soldiers and a militia force of five thousand men. Tilly's army, at this time, numbered thirty thousand; and yet against this overwhelming array of veterans, the city held out for more than a month. In May of 1631, however, the place was carried by storm. A scene then ensued which, by the common consent of historians, has been enrolled among the most barbarous, not to say infernal, acts in the annals of the world. The Imperial soldiers, already w

educated in all the methods of brutality, were turned loose to take their fill out of the captured city. Nothing was spared from their lust and fury. Whatever could be wasted by fire and the sword sank into blood and ashes. It is estimated that thirty thousand of the citizens were butchered without mercy. The dispatch of the accomplished Tilly to the Emperor gave this account of the capture: "Since the fall of Troy and Jerusalem, such a victory has never been seen; and I am sincerely sorry that the ladies of your Imperial family could not have been present as spectators!"

As soon as he heard of the fall of Magdeburg, the elector of Brandenburg ordered Gustavus to give up Spandau, and retire from his principality. This demand was such an outrage to the cause of German Protestantism that the Swedish king, instead of obeying the mandate, planted his cannon before Berlin, and was about to bombard the city. This action had the desired effect on the elector, and he gladly opened his fortresses to Gustavus. He was also obliged to contribute thirty thousand dollars a month to the support of the war, and by means of this levy the Protestant army was rapidly recruited; nor was it long until the Imperial authority in Mecklenburg was overthrown, as it had been already in Pomerania. An attack made by Tilly upon the Swedish camp was repulsed with severe losses.

The effect of these successes on the part of Gustavus was to draw to his banners a more efficient support. The first of the German Protestant princes to ally himself openly and actively with the Swede was Landgrave William of Hesse Cassel. Afterwards the sluggish John George of Saxony lent such aid as might be evoked from his helplessness. In the progress of the next campaign Tilly took possession of Halle, Naumburg, and at last captured Leipsic after a four days' bombardment. This last movement brought the Imperialists face to face with the Swedish army, now increased to thirty-five thousand men.

On the 7th of September, 1631, the great adversaries met before Leipsic. Here was fought the first decisive battle of the war, and here the Imperial dwarf, who would fain have had the tender-hearted ladies of the court witness the butchery of Madgeburg, first felt the weight of the terrible hand which the "Snow King"—so named in irony by the Emperor because on his coming into Germany *he would melt as soon as the spring arrived*—was wont to lay on the foes of Protestant liberty. Finding himself deficient in arms, Gustavus distributed his musketeers among the cavalry and pikemen. The right wing was placed under command of the courageous Banner; the left, in charge of Marshal Horn. On the Imperialist side, Tilly commanded the right, and Pappenheim the left. "God with us?" shouted the Swedes as they went into the conflict, and "Jesu Maria!" answered the Imperialists. The Snow King flamed like Castor in the battle. His stalwart form, white hat, and green plume were seen passing rapidly before his lines, the very impersonation of war. As the fight began to rage, the Saxons under Marshal Horn gave way before the almost invincible Tilly. But on the other side of the field the Imperialists under Pappenheim were repelled and turned to flight by the charge of Gustavus. In this part of the battle Tilly's cannon were captured by the Swedes and turned upon himself. This event decided the conflict. The forces of Tilly were thrown into confusion and driven in a rout from the field. He himself was severely wounded, and only escaped death or capture by being borne along with the tide of fugitives. On reaching Halle he found himself surrounded by only a few hundred followers, survivors of the wreck of his veteran army.

The German Protestants were now ready to hail Gustavus as a deliverer. Foremost among those who now supported the victorious Swede, was the valorous and able Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar. Even John George of Saxony was galvanized into some show of life. With reluctance, however, he undertook a campaign into Bohemia in aid of the oppressed Protestants of that country. As to Gustavus he now took up his triumphant march to the Rhine. Vainly did Tilly, now recovering from his wound, and rallying his shattered forces, attempt to check the progress of his adversary. Gustavus captured Würzburg, defeated an army of seventeen thousand men brought out against him by Charles, duke of Lorraine, took the city of Frankfort and made it his headquarters for the winter. Here he gave his

army some months of needed rest and matured his plans for the future.

Great was the contrast afforded by the conduct of Gustavus and that of the Imperialist generals. The Swede permitted no act of brutality to stain the record of his victories.

ASSASSINATION OF MARSHAL D'ANCRE.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

The rights of the Catholics, even of the Catholic princes who had been *participes criminis* in all the horrors of barbarous warfare, were duly respected. So great was the influence and consequent popularity thus gained by Gustavus that the vision of the Imperial crown rose before him, and he was encouraged both by his own ambitions and the suggestions of others to undertake the wresting of the scepter from Ferdinand. Especially did Queen Eleanor, who joined him at Frankfort and contributed not a little by her presence to the elegance of the camp-like court which he there established, exert herself to secure a transfer of the allegiance of the German princes to her lord.

It was at this juncture that the shadow of the coming ascendency of Gustavus, falling across the borders of France, began to excite the anxiety of that remarkable statesman and diplomatist, Armand Jean Duplessis, Cardinal Richelieu. Born in Paris, in 1585, educated for the profession of arms, becoming in his youth Marquis of Chillon, he changed his purpose, and determined to enter the Church. At the age of twenty-two he was consecrated bishop. Soon afterwards he became a favorite of Maria de Medici, and was by her and by the famous Marshal D'Ancre, at that time prime minister of France, introduced to public favor at the court. He became first almoner of the Queen Mother, and then secretary of state. Already he appeared to be on the high-road to great distinction, not only in France, but throughout Europe. In 1617 the way was still further opened for his rise to power by the assassination of Marshal D'Ancre. Against that powerful minister and favorite a conspiracy was formed; nor was the suspicion wanting that Louis XIII. was himself at the bottom of the plot. On the 24th of April, 1617, the assassins, under the lead of an ingrate named De Luynes, whom D'Ancre had raised to influence, attacked the Marshal in the street before the Louvre, and shot him to the death. "Thanks to you, Messieurs," said Louis XIII., looking down from a window at the tragedy, "now I am the king." For a while Richelieu sought to bring about a reconciliation between the French monarch and his mother, Maria de Medici; but the effort was abortive. Richelieu, indeed, was banished for a season, first to Luçon and afterwards to Avignon. While in retirement he devoted himself to study and the composition of religious books. Finally Maria de Medici was recalled to court, and in 1622 Richelieu became prime minister of France. He received the cardinal's hat; became all-powerful in the state; undertook the reduction of the French nobility to a place greatly inferior to the king; and adopted that policy of statecraft which he followed inveterately through life of destroying the prestige of the German Empire and the elevation of France to the front rank among the western powers.

In the course of time Maria de Medici, between whom and the cardinal a bitter enmity had supervened, sought to compass his ruin even by assassination; but the Queen Mother was finally ginned in her own plot. In the year 1631, when Richelieu had been made a duke and peer of France, two of Maria's favorites, Gaston of Orleans and Henry of Montmorency, sought to carry out the wishes of their imperious mistress by organizing a rebellion against the government. The conspiracy came to a crisis in the battle of Castelnaudary, in which the plotters were utterly routed, the Duke of Montmorency escaping from the field only to be taken and executed.

Such was the condition of affairs when Richelieu, after many years of experience, though he had but recently given encouragement to the expedition of Gustavus, began to be solicitous lest the Lion of the North should become more dangerous to his own dominion in Western Europe than was the Emperor himself. He entered into secret negotiations with Maximilian of Bavaria, with the ulterior design of checking the career of Gustavus in Germany. By the beginning of the following year the Swedish king, who had now secured the firm support of the Palatinate, Baden, and Würtemberg, perceiving that Maximilian could not be drawn into league against the Empire, but not knowing that the hostility of the latter had been superinduced by his correspondence with Richelieu, determined to make an expedition into Bavaria and compel a compliance which he had been unable to secure by diplomacy.

Setting out from Frankfort, Gustavus came to Nuremberg, where he was received with

an excess of enthusiasm. Proceeding to Donauwörth he expelled the forces of Maximilian and reïnstituted the Protestant worship. As a matter of course Tilly now hurried to the support of Maximilian, joined the army of the latter with his own, and took up a strong

HENRY OF MONTMORENCY AT CASTELNAUDARY.

Drawn by P. Philippoteaux.

position beyond the river Lech. Gaining knowledge of the movements of his antagonist, Gustavus marched against him and pitched his camp on the western bank of the river. On the 12th of April, 1632, the Swedes began a cannonade across the Lech, and for three days poured upon the enemy's camp the most destructive missiles which the then incipient science of war could command. Under cover of the smoke, and before his plan could be well discovered by the Imperialists, the Swede ordered his army to cross the river and carry the enemy's camp. The movement was executed with the greatest audacity. Not even the genius of Tilly and the valor of his veterans could withstand the shock. He himself was mortally wounded and his army was utterly routed and dispersed. So far as the life of the merciless specter, who had so long and so successfully commanded the soldiers of the Empire, was concerned, the voice of murdered Protestantism crying from the ground was at last appeased. The dying Tilly was carried to Ingolstadt. and there, after a few days, he expired, being then in his seventy-fourth year.

After the battle of the Lech the city of Augsburg opened her gates to Gustavus; but in an attempt to capture Ingolstadt he was unsuccessful. Soon afterwards he marched upon the strongly Catholic Munich, which, though unfriendly to his cause, was obliged to yield without a conflict. The Bavarians, in order to save their treasures and arms from the conqueror, had buried the same in pits under the floor of the arsenal; but some one betrayed the secret to the Swedes. "Let the dead arise," said the not unwitty Gustavus, and thereupon the floors were torn up and a hundred and forty pieces of artillery, together with thirty thousand ducats, were exhumed from the pits. It was now Maximilian's turn to reap the whirlwind. Gladly would he have made peace with the king, but the latter, despising his duplicity, refused to trust him.

It thus happened that in the course of two campaigns the whole aspect of German affairs was changed. The Catholic fabric rocked to its foundation. Never was monarch in a greater strait than was Ferdinand after the death of Tilly and the conquest of Bavaria by the Swedes. Well did the Emperor know that on the approach of Gustavus to the borders of Austria the long-bound Protestantism of that country would snap its bonds and rise to welcome one who came in the name of religious freedom.

In his distress Ferdinand cast about him for help, but help there was none except the insulted Wallenstein. More angry and haughty than Achilles, the great duke had remained a gratified witness of the decline of the Imperial power. From his splendid court at Znaim, in Moravia, he still looked on and waited. When at last an importunate message came from the Emperor, asking him to resume his place at the head of the army, he haughtily refused to do so except on conditions that would almost have reversed the places of himself and Ferdinand. At the first the latter refused to grant the terms which the Duke of Friedland was in a position to exact. But it was not long until the Emperor was *compelled* to yield to what demands soever the now arrogant and triumphant Wallenstein might see fit to name. He accordingly consented to give to that proud potentate the two duchies of Mecklenburg and a portion of territory from the estates of the Hapsburgs in Austria. He also agreed to give him all the provinces which he should conquer, and to pay the expenses of the army. All appointments were to be made by Wallenstein, and to all this the Emperor added a pledge that neither he nor his son would at any time so much as visit the Imperial camp.

Having thus settled the preliminaries according to his liking, Wallenstein proceeded, by large bounties and the promise of unlimited license, to raise and equip an army. In the short space of three months he found himself at the head of forty thousand men. After taking possession of Prague, he waited for a season until necessity should compel Maximilian of Bavaria to put the armies of that kingdom also under his command. The event was as he had foreseen, and a Bavarian army of forty thousand was presently added to his own. With this tremendous force, completely at his will, he now proceeded against Gustavus, who fell back to Nuremburg and constructed a fortified camp around the city. Overtaking his antagonist, Wallenstein took up his position on the height of Zirndorf, within sight of the Swedish tents. It was now a wrestle of the

giants. For nine weeks the two commanders, equally cautious and equally determined not to suffer a surprise, watched each other with sleepless vigilance. At length the supplies of the Swedes began to fail, and Gustavus, though his army numbered but thirty-five thousand men, resolved to hazard an assault.

He accordingly attacked the camp of Wallenstein with desperate bravery, but was repulsed with a loss of two thousand men. For two weeks longer the maneuvering continued, and then Gustavus withdrew from Nuremburg and began a campaign against Bavaria. This movement resulted as the Swede had foreseen, in the division of the Imperial army. The Bavarians were drawn off by Maximilian to protect their own country, and Wallenstein with his army thus reduced, marched first into Franconia and then across the Thuringian Mountains into Saxony. On this march he adopted his old policy of devastation and pillage. The country withered in his presence. The cowering John George of Saxony called out with more than his wonted energy to Gustavus for help. The autumn of 1632 was already far advanced, when the latter, turning back from Bavaria, arrived at Erfurt. The old home of Protestanism welcomed him as a savior. Touched with humility when the common people held out to him their hands, he said with deep pathos: "I pray that the wrath of the Almighty may not be visited upon me on account of this idolatry towards a weak and sinful mortal." It appears that the king had a presentiment of some impending fate. In taking leave of his wife at Erfurt, he expressed a belief that he should never see her again.

For a time he and Wallenstein again maneuvered, and then Gustavus planted himself at Naumburg to await the action of his antagonist. Wallenstein, believing that the campaign was ended for the season, began to make preparations for the winter, and dispatched Pappenheim with ten thousand men to take a position in Westphalia. As soon as he perceived the Imperial army thus reduced to a proportion less overwhelming than previously, Gustavus resolved to place all on the hazard of battle. Accordingly on the morning of the 6th of November he marched to the attack of his terrible adversary in the plain of Lützen, between Naumburg and Leipsic. The forces of Wallenstein numbered twenty-five thousand men, and the Swedes about twenty thousand. As for the latter, they went into battle to conquer or to die. In beginning the fight, the whole army began to chant the hymn of Luther,

"Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott,"[1]

and then charged with irresistible fury. After several hours of desperate fighting, the left wing of Wallenstein's army was crushed by the onset of the Swedes. The artillery of the Imperialists was captured and turned upon themselves; but Wallenstein rallied his veterans, retook his cannon, and threw the forces of Gustavus into confusion. In making the counter-charge the steed of the Swedish king—such was his momentum—carried his master into the enemy's lines, and before he could regain his place, a shot from the Imperialist side shattered Gustavus's left arm; but he retained his seat in the saddle and continued to direct the movements of his men. At length, however, he was struck in the breast with another ball, and reeled heavily to the earth. A moment later the Swedes beheld the well-known charger, streaked with the blood of their beloved king, flying wildly about the field, feeling no longer the guidance of the master hand. Duke Bernhard, of Saxe-Weimar, immediately assumed command, and the battle raged more furiously than ever. The Swedes now added vengeance to the other fiery motives which had impelled them to the fight. While the struggle was still at its height, Pappenheim, for whom Wallenstein had sent a hurried message the day before, arrived on the field, and threw the whole weight of his division upon the Swedes. The latter fell back under his assault, but not until they had given him a mortal wound.

By the fall of their leader the Imperialists were in turn thrown into confusion, and the Swedes, making a determined rally, recovered the ground which had been lost. Night settled on the scene and the conflict ended. Though Wallenstein had not suffered a decisive defeat, though Gustavus Adolphus was no more, a virtual victory had been won by the Swedes. During the night Wallenstein retreated to Leipsic, leaving all his artillery

[1] Our God, He is a Tower of strength.

and colors on the field. But all the trophies of battle could illy repay the Swedes for the loss of him who had been the soul of the war. The body of Gustavus, splendid even in its mutilation, was found buried under a heap of dead, stripped of clothing and trampled by

DEATH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AT LÜTZEN.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

the hoofs of horses. The great king, to whom history will ever award the palm of being the hero of the Thirty Years' War, was dead; but, like Samson, he had given to the Imperial Philistines, in the hour of his death, a wound from which they never fully recovered. The crippled Wallenstein, with many a backward, baleful glance, dragged himself off into Bohemia, where he let loose his disappointed rage *upon his own soldiers!*

The Protestant princes were thrown into great confusion by the death of the Swedish king. It was decided by Oxenstiern, chancellor of Sweden, to continue the war; and since no other of sufficient eminence presented himself as a leader, he was accepted as the head of the Protestant Union. In the spring of 1633, a convention of the princes was held at Heilbronn, and the Suabians, Franconians, and people of the Rhine provinces joined their fortunes with those of the new alliance. Duke Bernhard and Marshal Horn were continued in command of the army. As for Saxony and Brandenburg, they at first held aloof, but were presently induced by Richelieu's ambassador, who attended the meeting at Heilbronn, to lend their aid to the Protestants and to pay a hundred thousand dollars each for the support of the war.

In the next campaigns, the armies of Bernhard and Horn were almost uniformly successful. The Landgrave of Hesse and George of Brunswick restored the Protestant authority in all Westphalia. Bernhard achieved a like success in Saxony and Silesia, and Marshal Horn in Alsatia. In May of this year, however, the sullen Wallenstein, now more inscrutable than ever, left Prague and entered Silesia. Here, in a short time, by superior generalship, he gained the upper hand of Count Arnheim, the Protestant commander, and might have destroyed his army. But Wallenstein was wholly absorbed in his own ambitious schemes, and refused to press his advantage. He made an armistice with Arnheim, and opened a correspondence through the French embassador with Richelieu. It appears that the outline of this intrigue embraced the abandonment of the Catholic and Imperial cause by Wallenstein, and his own elevation to the crown of Bohemia. So far as France was concerned, this project had the hearty approval of the court; but the shrewd Oxenstiern, with a better appreciation of the character of Wallenstein, refused to be a party to the compact. For he knew that the Duke of Friedland could be trusted in nothing. It is doubtful whether Wallenstein ever seriously contemplated going over to the Protestants; but it suited his purpose and character to entertain their overtures. Nor was he anxious that the rumor of these proceedings should be kept from Ferdinand. The latter was now in a condition bordering on despair. Attempt a second deposition of Wallenstein he durst not. At last it occurred to him to bring a Spanish army to the support of his cause, and to withhold the command of the same from Wallenstein. Ferdinand even went so far as to order the duke to send six thousand of his best cavalry to reïnforce the Spanish army. It was this order that precipitated the final break between the duke and the Emperor.

Wallenstein, perceiving that Ferdinand's design was first to weaken and then destroy him, resolved to anticipate the movement of his enemies. He accordingly took into his confidence certain of his leading generals, and to them made known his purpose not to obey the Imperial mandate. Having thus secured a following, he called a council of war, and to that body made known the contents of the order which he had received. He also declared his purpose at once to resign the command of the army. This action on his part, if taken, the officers well knew would put an end to their own career of blood, lust, and plunder. The spirit of the assembly was excited by those who were in the General's secrets, and at a great banquet on the following day all the leaders to the number of forty-two signed a compact that they would stand by Wallenstein to the last.

Among the conspirators, however, was a traitor to the traitors. General Ottavio Piccolomini revealed the whole transaction to the Emperor. The latter at once issued an order transferring the command of the army to General Gallas, who, though a signer of the pledge to Wallenstein, was at heart with Ferdinand. A second Imperial edict commanded the seizure of the Generals Terzky and Illo, who were Wallenstein's chief supporters in the camp. It now became a question whether the intrigue

of Wallenstein or the counter-intrigue of the Emperor would prevail. The duke entered into hurried negotiations with Bernhard; but before he could complete his arrangements for going over openly to the Protestants, General Gallas and other friends of the Emperor succeeded in winning back a large part of the disloyal army. A few thousand remained faithful to Wallenstein, and with these he set out to join Duke Bernhard. In the latter part of February, 1634, he reached the frontier of Bohemia, and paused at the town of Eger.

Here in his own camp an underplot was formed by an Irish colonel named Butler and two Scots—Gordon and Leslie—to end the drama by the murder of Wallenstein and his associates. The conspiracy involved the invitation of Wallenstein, his brothers-in-law, Kinsky and Terzky, and the General Illo to a banquet, where the deed was to be done. The duke, however, on account of being indisposed did not accept the invitation, but remained at the Burgomaster's house where he was lodging. When the banqueters were assembled, Gordon and Leslie gave the signal by putting out the lights, and a body of armed assassins, rushing into the hall, butchered the three victims in cold blood. A certain Captain Devereux, with a company of six soldiers, then hurried to the Burgomaster's house, entered by force, cut down Wallenstein's servant, and burst into the bed-chamber of the duke. There he lay. His stars had at last conspired against him, and the hour of his fate had struck in the heavens. He perceived at a glance that his time had come. Half-arising from his couch, but with no sign of trepidation, he received the death-stab in his breast; and all that was mortal of Albrecht von Wallenstein lay still and breathless.

If we may believe what is reported, Ferdinand wept when he heard of Wallenstein's assassination. But he took good care that the murderers Butler and Leslie should be made counts, and be splendidly rewarded! As to the estates of the duke, the same were divided among the leading officers of the Imperial army.

The command of the Emperor's forces was now devolved upon Archduke Ferdinand, though the real direction of military affairs was intrusted to General Gallas. The latter, in 1634, marched upon Ratisbon, and captured the city. The several divisions of the Imperialists were then united, and Donauwörth was retaken. Nördlingen was besieged, and Bernhard and Horn, having united their forces, risked a battle in the hope of saving the place from capture. But they were terribly defeated with a loss of twelve thousand in killed and wounded, and six thousand prisoners. Marshal Horn was among the captured. The victory was such that the Imperialists were enabled to lay waste the country of Würtemberg after their manner in the early years of the war. To the Protestants the effect was disastrous in the last degree. Oxenstiern, who at this time was holding a conference with his German allies at Frankfort, suddenly found himself without support; for the princes, each anxious to save himself, abandoned the cause; so that in a short time only Hesse-Cassel, Würtemberg, and Baden remained in alliance with the Swedes.

As the best thing to be done in the emergency, Oxenstiern turned to France. It had now become the settled policy of Louis XIII. and Richelieu to weaken the House of Hapsburg by giving aid to its enemies. These enemies were Protestants, but the French minister had long since learned to make his religion do service to his politics. The underhand methods hitherto employed were now abandoned, and in answer to the appeal of the Swedish Chancellor a contingent of French troops was sent to aid the enemies of the Empire. One of the first results of this action on the part of France was the conclusion of a separate peace between John George of Saxony and the Emperor; for the former, perceiving the advantage which was given by French interference, sought to secure himself in authority, whatever might become of the other Protestant princes. They, however, for the most part followed the example of Saxony. Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Brunswick, Anhalt, and many of the free cities, concluded a peace with Ferdinand. Only the Palatinate of the Rhine and Würtemberg held faithfully to the alliance with the Swedes.

The Emperor, in concluding this peace with his subjects, took care to have in each treaty a clause inserted by which the province making it agreed to join its forces with those of the Empire to enforce the compact. Such

was the strange complication in the religious affairs of Germany that this provision, which *seemed* to be in the interest of peace, was really in the interest of war. The general effect of the measure was to bring the Catholics and German Lutherans into a league against the Swedes and the German Calvinists.

RICHELIEU.

In this movement of the German princes to sell their birthright for a mess of pottage, Duke Bernhard and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel would take no part. In general, the Swedes and the Protestants of Southern Germany held fast to their integrity. John George of Saxony they heartily despised. Nor could any effort of the compromising party induce them to accede to the treaty of Prague. Ferdinand exerted himself to the utmost to seduce those who held out against him. He offered Sweden three and a-half millions of florins and Bernhard a principality in Franconia if they would become parties to the treaty; but neither would accept the bait. On the contrary, Bernhard put himself at the head of twelve thousand French soldiers, and made a successful expedition into Alsatia; while, at the same time, Banner led a Swedish army against the Saxons, and inflicted on them several severe defeats. At length the Imperialists gained the upper hand of Bernhard in Alsatia, and the latter went to Paris to secure additional aid. But the victories of Banner more than counterbalanced the successes of the Emperor's army. The campaigns of 1636 and 1637 were waged with all the ferocity and bloodthirstiness of the earlier years of the war. Many parts of the country were utterly ruined by the devastations of a lawless soldiery, and pestilence and famine came in to consume the residue.

In the mean time the mission of Bernhard to the French capital had proved successful. The duke was made a Marshal of France, and Louis XIII. agreed to make an annual contribution of four millions of livres for the support of the army in Germany. This

policy was adopted at the French court by the influence of Richelieu, whose life, since his first accession to power in 1624, had been the epitome of the history of France. Never had a minister of state a more absolute sway over the destinies of a nation than had the great cardinal in whose hands nearly all the affairs of the kingdom were as wax. He it was who determined the major conditions of the treaty concluded at Ratisbon in 1630. At this epoch in his career he had taken into his confidence and service a certain ecclesiastic named Francis du Tremblay, better known by his title of Father Joseph. This monkish dignitary became the chief adviser of the chief adviser of France. Between him and the cardinal the most momentous questions of international policy were discussed and decided. Striking indeed was the picture of Richelieu in his cabinet listening with downcast head to the reading by Father Joseph of those documents and papers of state which concerned the diplomacy of all the European kingdoms.

By the close of the year 1637, Banner had been beaten in several contests and driven back to the coast of the Baltic, while Bernhard had restored the fortunes of the Protestants in Alsatia by a decisive victory over the Imperialists. The elector of Brandenburg had in the mean time been so weakened that he was obliged to surrender the greater part of his rights as a prince to the Empire.

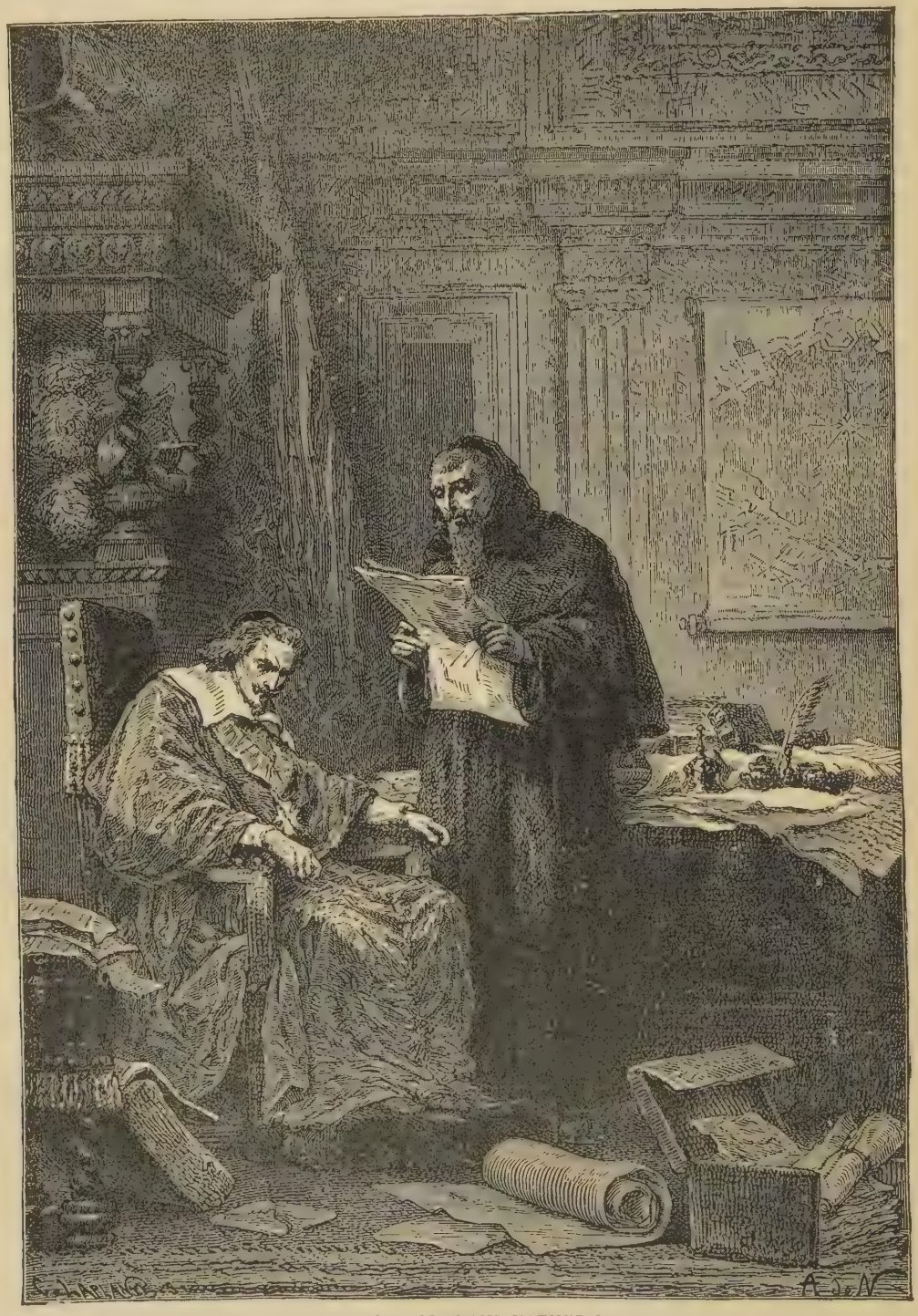
In February of this year Ferdinand II. died. It has been estimated that this benign Christian sovereign went into the world of spirits with the blood of ten millions of people on his soul. Those who would apologize for his crimes have sought to throw the blame for the horrors of his reign on the Jesuits, who had poisoned his youth and by their machinations and intrigues were the largest influence in shaping the policy of his manhood. In the whole history of the German race no other sovereign ever contributed so largely to the woes of the people. Not the least of the curses which he inflicted upon the world was a son like unto himself, who, with the title of FERDINAND III., now succeeded to the Imperial dignity.

In Alsatia all the country except the fortress of Breisach had surrendered to Duke Bernhard, and that stronghold was closely besieged. One Imperial army after another was sent to the relief of the fortress only to be defeated by the Protestants. At last, in 1638, Breisach surrendered. When the fortress was taken, Louis XIII. demanded that the same should be surrendered to him, and on the refusal of the duke to give over his conquest, the French king declined to lend him further assistance. Hereupon Bernhard declared his purpose to carry on the war alone; nor did his military abilities seem incommensurate with such an undertaking. So great was his popularity that thousands flocked to his standard, and by the summer of 1639 he found himself ready to renew hostilities. In July of this year, however, the duke suddenly sickened and died; nor was the suspicion wanting that he had been poisoned by a secret agent of France. After his death a French army immediately proceeded into Alsatia and took possession of the country.

Before these events, however, the success of Bernhard had compelled the Imperialists to withdraw a part of their forces from Northern Germany, and Banner was thus enabled again to take the offensive. In 1638 he made successful expeditions into Brandenburg, Saxony, and Bohemia. Nor was the kind of warfare which he adopted any more creditable to the age or to himself than had been the brutal methods of Tilly and Wallenstein. In the campaign of 1639 Banner was defeated before Prague by the Archduke Leopold, brother of the Emperor. But his overthrow was indecisive, and, falling back into Thüringia, he was soon reïnforced by new bodies of troops from Hesse-Cassel and France.

Such was the condition of affairs which had now supervened in the Empire that Ferdinand III., whose chief virtue was a disposition somewhat more placable than that of his father, was constrained to call together the National Diet. That body convened at Ratisbon in the autumn of 1640. But it appeared that the assembly was as impotent as ever to put an end to the horrors of the epoch. The Protestant princes of Germany united with the Catholics in opposing the policy of Sweden and France, and the deliberations were confounded by the cross-purposes, jealousies, and implacability of the members. While the useless pro-

ceedings were still dragging on, Banner conceived the audacious design of marching upon Ratisbon, and scooping up both the Emperor and the Diet. With extraordinary swiftness he came by a winter march as far as the Danube, and only a sudden thaw in the river prevented him from carrying his well-conceived purpose into execution. In May



CARDINAL RICHELIEU AND FATHER JOSEPH.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

of the following year, however, he died, and his army fell to pieces. This enabled the Imperialists to regain a portion of what they had lost, and again there were signs of submission on the part of the Protestant princes. As early as 1641, negotiations were undertaken for the conclusion of a general peace, and to that end a congress was convened in Hamburg. Delegates were present from France, Austria, and Sweden. But the meeting was merely preliminary, and no actual measures of pacification were agreed upon.

At this juncture, one of the principal forces which for many years had determined the course of the conflict was eliminated by the death of Cardinal Richelieu. His policy of humbling the House of Austria he pursued with unflagging purpose to the end of his life. Ever inimical to the Protestants of France, he had with inconsistent consistency supported the Protestant cause in Germany—this with the obvious determination to consolidate all the elements of nationality in his own kingdom, and to distract and weaken the neighboring states with perpetual discord.

The fires of Richelieu's genius burned with quenchless brightness to the last days of his life. Within three months of his death he had to grapple with a dangerous conspiracy headed by the marquis, Henri Cinq-Mars—a favorite of the king—and Francis de Thou, the royal librarian. Cinq-Mars had been raised to public favor by the influence of Richelieu, and was indebted to him for a place in the government. Becoming ambitious, he sought to marry the beautiful Maria de Gonzaga, princess of Mantua, afterwards queen of Poland. But Richelieu thwarted the favorite's purpose, and Cinq-Mars took a mortal offense at the wrong. He drew around him a company of young noblemen, chief of whom was De Thou, and, with the hope of hurling the cardinal from power, opened a treasonable correspondence with Spain. But Richelieu, whose vigilance no subtlety could escape, secured a copy of Cing-Mars's letter, and he and De Thou were seized. A trial followed, and then condemnation and death. On the 12th of September, 1642, the rash conspirators were led forth from their cell and publicly beheaded in Lyons.

The great cardinal was himself already tottering on the brink of the grave. Gradually weakened by bodily infirmity, he was at last obliged to succumb to the common foe. On the 4th day of December, 1642, he gave over the struggle, and the impact of his tremendous will was felt no more in the affairs of Europe.

In the same year with the death of Richelieu, the cause of the Protestants in Germany was greatly revived by the appearance in the field of the noted Swedish general, Lennart Torstenson, count of Ortalo. At the head of a large army, he made his way through Silesia and Bohemia almost to the Austrian capital. He was already in his old age, decrepit in body, a sufferer from the gout; but the fires of his genius shone with inextinguishable luster. When unable to walk or ride, he was borne about the field and camp on a litter, and the spectacle of the undaunted old hero, thus carried into their presence, inspired the Swedish soldiers more than even Banner's splendid appearance on his war-horse. Near the close of 1642, Torstenson returned into Saxony, where he met and utterly routed the army of Piccolomini before the walls of Leipsic.

Following up his success, the old Swede drove John George completely out of the electorate, and obliged him to seek shelter in Bohemia. But for the circumstance of a declaration of war by Denmark against Sweden, it appeared probable that Ferdinand would be obliged to accept a peace on terms dictated by the Protestants. As it was, Torstenson was compelled to withdraw from the scene of his victories, and make a campaign into Holstein and Jutland. It was not long, however, until he gave Denmark good cause to rue her folly in going to war. The Danish government was obliged to subscribe a treaty highly favorable to Sweden. Thus did the year 1643 close under conditions which promised final success to the Protestants. In the following year, Torstenson returned into Austria, driving the Imperialist, General Gallas, before him, and in March of 1645, gained a great victory over his adversary in the battle of Tabor. So completely were the forces of the enemy overthrown, that little further opposition could be offered to the progress of the Swedes, and they quietly sat down before Vienna. But for the breaking out of the plague in his

army, which raged with such violence as to compel his withdrawal into Saxony, there is little doubt that Torstenson would have ended the war by the capture of the Austrian capital. Exhausted with fatigue and the accumulating ills of old age, Torstenson himself yielded to an enemy greater than the Emperor, and, dying, left his command to General Karl Gustaf

CINQ-MARS AND DE THOU LED TO EXECUTION.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

Wrangel, by whose genius the military reputation of Sweden was fully sustained.

Meanwhile, the French armies in Alsatia had, under the command of the great Marshals Turenne and Condé, achieved successes almost equal to those of the Swedes in Bohemia and Austria. Not only was all Alsatia subdued, but successful expeditions were made across the Rhine into Baden, the Palatinate, and Würtemberg. In the great battle of Freiburg, Turenne, after a three days' conflict, gained a victory over the Bavarians

DEATH OF RICHELIEU.

under Mercy; but in May of the following year, namely, 1645, he was by the same enemy defeated in the battle of Mergentheim. Three months later, however, being reïnforced by the army of Condé, Turenne recovered his supremacy at Allersheim. He then effected a junction with the Swedes under Wrangel, and gained two additional victories at Laningen and Zusmarshausen. By these successes the elector of Bavaria was obliged, in 1647, to sign an armistice.

The military strength of Ferdinand III. was now completely broken. Even the unsavory John George of Saxony, mere natural as he was, perceived that the master, whose servant he had been since the treaty of Prague, was no longer able to protect his allies, or even to save himself. The elector accordingly concluded a separate armistice with the Swedes. Frederick William of Brandenburg followed the example. Thus stripped of the support of those upon whom he had chiefly depended, the Emperor found his forces reduced to twelve thousand men, with no general to command them. It was evident that the end was at hand—that the insane and bloody project, conceived in the bosom of Jesuitism, and transplanted to the brain of Ferdinand II., to crush into the earth the cause for which Huss had died and Luther had lived, was now doomed to a complete and everlasting disappointment.

True, the preliminary conference between the powers in 1643 had brought forth neither leaves nor fruit. At the first it was arranged that the Peace Congress should convene in two sections. The first was to sit at Osna-

brück, and in that body the ambassadors of the Emperor were to meet with those of Sweden as the representative of the Protestant states, which had been at war with the Empire. The second section was to convene at Münster, and there the Imperial delegates were to discuss the conditions of peace with the ambassadors of France as the representative of the Catholic powers.[1] Having completed this arrangement, the preliminary conference adjourned, and after two years, namely, in 1645, the Peace Congresses assembled at Osnabrück and Münster. Besides the delegates of the states concerned immediately in the war, representatives came from Spain, Holland, Venice, Poland, and Denmark. Considerable time was consumed in the attempted organization of the assembly; for it was an age in which rank was considered much more important than virtue, and the sorrows of a whole nation, trodden for thirty years under the iron heel of war, were indefinitely postponed in order to consider the relative honor and position of the seats which the ambassadors of different states should occupy in the Congress! What a satire on humanity is History!

The deliberations of the Congress were yet further retarded by the fact that the war still continued with varying successes, and now the Catholic, and now the Protestant princes waited for the news of victory in order to strengthen their respective parties in the assembly. Early in 1648 Wrangel succeeded in joining his forces with those of Turenne. The combined army of Sweden and France then swept over Bavaria, put down all opposition, inflicted a bloody overthrow on the Imperialists, and again made ready for an invasion of Austria. At the same time General Königsmark, at the head of another Swedish army, subjugated Bohemia, stormed the city of Prague, and prepared to join Wrangel and Turenne in the final descent on Vienna.

These movements brought matters to a sudden crisis. Ferdinand III. perceived that his hour had come—that he must either yield and save a little, or be obstinate and lose all. He accordingly sent hurried instructions to his ambassadors at Osnabrück and Münster to bring

[1] Both Osnabrück and Münster were in Westphalia, the latter being the capital of that province. Hence, the treaty finally concluded by the Peace Congress is known in history as the TREATY OF WESTPHALIA.

the deliberations to a close on the best terms which could be secured from the triumphant Protestants. In accordance with this sudden change of policy, the PEACE OF WESTPHALIA was concluded in the City Hall of Osnabrück on the 24th of October, 1648. It was now thirty years, five months and one day since the Protestant insurgents in Bohemia had stormed the Town Hall in Prague and pitched the Emperor's councilors headlong from the windows. During this whole period of devastation and woe, Germany had been converted into a charnel. Her people had been slaughtered by hundreds of thousands. Her towns had been sacked; her villages burned; her flying peasants driven from home and scattered to the ends of the earth. No such atrocious and heart-rending butcheries, slaughters, burnings, and carnivals of licensed lust had been witnessed since the age of barbarism; and even the barbarians, actuated as they were by a certain brutal heroism, were less ferocious and more merciful than the military monsters who controlled the destinies and gave its character to the Thirty Years' War.

It only remains in the present Chapter to present an outline of the conditions of peace. The Treaty of Westphalia provided first, that Sweden, on giving up her conquests in Germany proper, should receive therefor Hither Pomerania; the Isle of Rügen, and Stettin, Garz, Damm, Golnow, in Hither Pomerania; the Isle of Wollin and a part of the course of the Oder; the reversion of the rest of Pomerania in case the House of Brandenburg should become extinct; the archbishoric of Bremen; a subsidy of five million rix dollars for the Swedish army, and six hundred thousand rix

FUGITIVE PEASANTS.—THIRTY YEARS' WAR.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

dollars for the government. Sweden might well be contented with her part of the spoils and honors.

Secondly, France was to receive the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun; the town Pignerol; Breisach; the landgravate of Upper and Lower Alsace; the Sundgan; the prefecture of ten Imperial towns in Alsace, and the fortress of Philipsburg.

Thirdly, a general amnesty was declared running back to the beginning of the war. A restitution of all things to the condition in which they were in the year 1624 should be made. But in several specified cases, certain territories were confirmed to those who had gained them during the war.

Fourthly, the exiled House of the Electors Palatine was given again the lower Palatinate, which thus became the eighth electorate of the Empire.

Fifthly, the independence of Switzerland, long recognized as a fact, was acknowledged as a right.

Sixthly, the Diet of the German Empire should henceforth have the right of controlling by its votes the conduct and policy of the Emperor.

Seventhly, as to the religious questions which had been involved in the conflict: 1. The religious freedom guaranteed by the Treaties of Passau and Augsburg was confirmed to the Lutherans and extended to the Calvinists. 2. The status of all religious properties should be determined by the possession thereof in January of the normal year—that is, in 1624. 3. Holders of benefices should, on changing their religion, vacate their property but retain their rank. 4. A secular ruler professing one faith and coming into authority over a people professing another, should have the right of his own worship, and his subjects should have theirs; and if a community desired to go over to the religion of its sovereign, the same might be done without hinderance or loss of rights; but in that event, the old status in school and Church must be continued. Thus, after a struggle of a hundred and twenty-eight years since Luther consigned to the flames the bull of Leo X., before the Elster gate of Wittenberg, the struggle between him and his foes was ended by the formal recognition of his work and the incorporation of the same into an international compact of such formality and binding force as would not permit its future abrogation. Neither the sullen opposition of the House of Hapsburg, nor the denunciations of Innocent X. from the chair of St. Peter, nor both combined in the hopeless war of the Past with the Present, could avail any longer to hold back the rising tides as they surged along the shores of the New Civilization.

From the dolor and blood of the great struggle which was ended by the treaty of Westphalia, it is a grateful relief to turn to the achievements of the human mind in this dark and ferocious epoch. The first half of the seventeenth century will be referred to in the benign annals of the future, not as the age of Wallenstein, not as the age of Gustavus Adolphus, but as the age of GALILEO. It was the time when ancient ignorance, as illustrated in a degraded and superstitious concept of the solar system, was shot through and slain with the arrow of light. Now it was that the crude theory of Ptolemy respecting the relations of the earth and the heavenly bodies fought its last battle with the heliocentric system of nature as defended by Copernicus and Kepler. To Galileo, more than to any other, must be attributed the triumph of the new truth which declared that the sun is our central orb, and that the earth and the planets are a harmonious family of worlds.

Galileo was born in Pisa in 1564. He was of a noble stock, though the family had lost somewhat of its ancient reputation. The father was an author in music. The son acquired a good education in the classics and fine arts. In mathematics his favorite branch was geometry. His first great discovery was the isochronism of the vibration of the pendulum, which he determined by the scientific observation of a swinging lamp in the cathedral of Pisa. Then followed the invention of the hydrostatic balance, and then the election of Galileo to a professorship in the university of his native city.

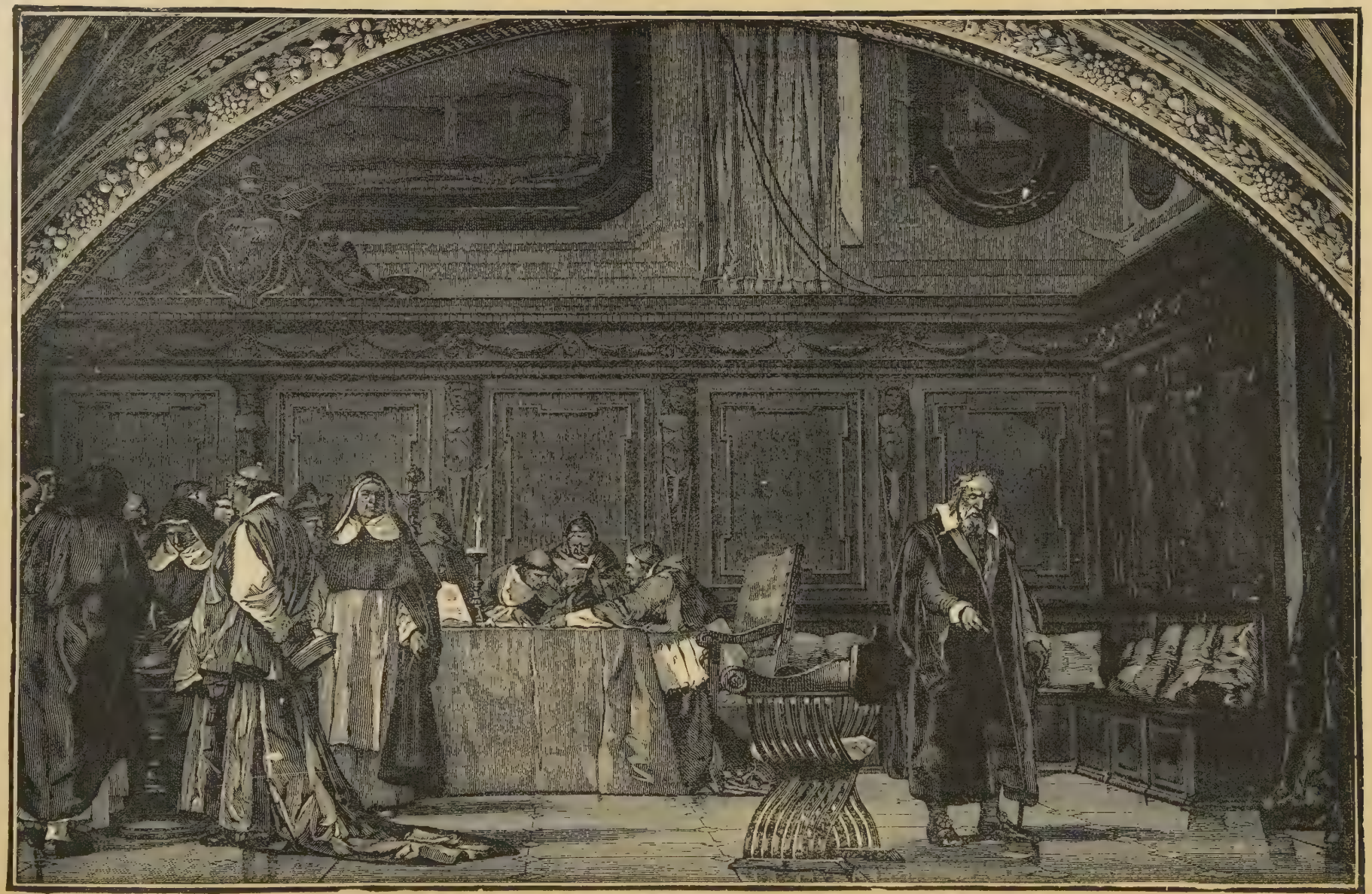
Still a young man, the great thinker now began his attack upon current errors in science and philosophy. His popularity in the university became so great that he was frequently obliged to deliver his lectures in the open air. Three times was he confirmed in

his professorship by the Venetian Senate, and his salary was increased to a thousand florins annually. In 1609 he began those experiments with lenses which presently led to the invention of the telescope. His first instrument was presented to the Doge of Venice, Leonardi Deodati, by whom it was tested from the tower of St. Mark with equal surprise and delight. It had for its tube a piece of leaden organ-pipe, and a magnifying power of three diameters. Such was the rude beginning of that great artificial eye through which the inquiring spirit of man was presently to read the magical story of the stars.

As soon as his telescope was somewhat improved, Galileo discovered the satellites of Jupiter. The ancient kingdom shook to its foundation. The learned uttered their voice and the pious lifted their hands in horror. The philosopher had said that there are lunar valleys, that Jove has moons, that Venus is a crescent. This was gross impiety and sacrilege—a rash and blasphemous invasion of the hidden things.

INNOCENT X.

But for a while Galileo's support stood firm. The Grand Duke of Tuscany gave him a thousand florins for his discovery and appointed him his mathematician. The philosopher removed to Florence. For a while, however, he deemed it expedient—both to save himself from persecution and to secure his discoveries against the rapacity of quacks and pirates—to publish the results of his investigations *in riddles and enigmas.* In 1611 he visited Rome and set up his telescope in the garden of the Quirinal. Here the Cardinal Barberini and others were shown the wonders of the skies. In this and the following year his prosperity reached a climax, and he became thenceforth an object of bitter persecutions. The monks and ecclesiastics attacked him with a virulence equal to their ancient reputation for bigotry. He was assailed from all sides with malice, ignorance, and ridicule. The philosopher had openly taught the Copernican system of the universe. This was sufficient. The offense might not be overlooked or forgiven. A certain Dominican preached a sermon, and believing himself to be the discoverer of the most astonishing pun of the Middle Ages, cried out for a text, "Ye men of *Galilee,* why stand ye looking up into heaven?" Vainly did the philosopher plead that the views of Copernicus and his own might be reconciled with the Bible. The matter came before the Holy Inquisition, and Galileo was summoned to Rome to answer for his teachings. Before that Tribunal of Darkness he was tried and condemned. His works were declared to be heretical and "expressly contrary to Holy



GALILEO BEFORE THE TRIBUNAL

Scriptures." He was forbidden to teach any more that the sun is central and that the earth revolves around it.

For several years Galileo was in retiracy; but, when the Cardinal Barberini became Pope Urban VIII., he went to Rome, was again honored and given a pension. In 1632 he published his *Dialogue on the Two Principal Systems of the World, the Ptolemaic and Copernican*, in which the true theory of the universe was again set forth and defended. For this he was a second time brought to trial. Sentence was formally pronounced against him. He was condemned to imprisonment in the cell of the Inquisition, required to abjure his doctrines, and to recite once each week for three years the seven penitential psalms! Galileo consented to recant. He put on sackcloth, got down on his knees, and swore on the gospels to renounce his teachings forever. Then, rising from the ground, he is said to have uttered, in an undertone, that famous saying: *E pur si mouve*—"It moves, for all that!"

For a short time Galileo was imprisoned, and then given his liberty. But that could hardly be called liberty which was only permission to go forth under surveillance. All the rest of his life the philosopher was suspected and watched by the agents of the Inquisition. He whose mortal eye had first beheld the golden crescent of the Evening Star was pursued to his death with the implacable hatred of that ancient power to which in all ages free thought has been an enemy, knowledge a bane, and generosity a stranger. But the dominion of superstition was broken, and the Reign of Law came in.

CHAPTER CV.—COLONIZATION OF AMERICA.

WHILE the Thirty Years' War was dragging its slow and bloody length along, a different kind of a drama was enacting in the world this side of the waters. It was the epoch of the planting of European colonies in America. After the discovery of our continent, the people of Europe were hundreds of years in making themselves acquainted with the shape and character of the New World. During that time explorers and adventurers went everywhere and settled nowhere. To make new discoveries was the universal passion; but nobody cared to plant a colony.

But as soon as the adventurers had satisfied themselves with tracing sea-coasts, ascending rivers and scaling mountains, they began to form permanent settlements. And each settlement was a new State in the wilderness. Every voyager now became ambitious to plant a colony. Kings and queens grew anxious to confer their names on the towns and commonwealths of the New World. The circumstances attending the establishment of the early American colonies were full of daring adventure and romantic interest. The narrative will be more interesting by going back to the early part of the sixteenth century and noticing some of the antecedents of the States which were planted in the New World. Spain, who was first to discover, was now the first to plant.

In the year 1526, Charles V. appointed the unprincipled PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ governor of Florida, and to the appointment was added the usual privilege of conquest. The territory thus placed at his disposal extended from Cape Sable fully three-fifths of the way around the Gulf of Mexico, and was limited on the south-west by the mouth of the River of Palms. With this extensive commission De Narvaez arrived at Tampa Bay in the month of April, 1528. His force consisted of two hundred and sixty soldiers and forty horsemen. The natives treated them with suspicion, and, anxious to be rid of the intruders, began to hold up their gold trinkets and to point to the north. The hint was eagerly caught at by the avaricious Spaniards, whose imaginations were set on fire with the sight of the precious metal. They struck boldly into the forests, expecting to find cities and empires, and found

instead swamps and savages. They reached the Withlacoochie and crossed it by swimming, they passed over the Suwanee in a canoe which they made for the occasion, and finally came to Apalachee, a squalid village of forty cabins. This, then, was the mighty city to which their guides had directed them.

Oppressed with fatigue and goaded by hunger, they plunged again into the woods, wading through lagoons and assailed by lurking savages, until at last they reached the sea at the harbor of St. Mark's. Here they expected to find their ships, but not a ship was there, or had been. With great labor they constructed some brigantines, and put to sea in the vain hope of reaching the Spanish settlements in Mexico. They were tossed by storms, driven out of sight of land and then thrown upon the shore again, drowned, slain by the savages, left in the solitary woods dead of starvation and despair, until finally four miserable men of all the adventurous company, under the leadership of the heroic De Vaca, first lieutenant of the expedition, were rescued at the village of San Miguel, on the Pacific coast, and conducted to the City of Mexico. The story can hardly be paralleled in the annals of suffering and peril.

But the Spaniards were not yet satisfied. In the year 1537 a new expedition was planned which surpassed all the others in the brilliancy of its beginning and the disasters of its end. The most cavalier of the cavaliers was FERDINAND DE SOTO, of Xeres. Besides the distinction of a noble birth, he had been the lieutenant and bosom friend of Pizarro, and had now returned from Peru, loaded with wealth. So great was his popularity in Spain that he had only to demand what he would have of the Emperor that his request might be granted. At his own dictation he was accordingly appointed governor of Cuba and Florida, with the privilege of exploring and conquering the latter country at his pleasure. A great company of young Spaniards, nearly all of them wealthy and high-born, flocked to his standard. Of these he selected six hundred of the most gallant and daring. They were clad in costly suits of armor of the knightly pattern, with airy scarfs and silken embroidery and all the trappings of chivalry. Elaborate preparations were made for the grand conquest; arms and stores were provided; shackles were wrought for the slaves; tools for the forge and workshop were abundantly supplied; bloodhounds were bought and trained for the work of hunting fugitives; cards to keep the young knights excited with gaming; twelve priests to conduct religious ceremonies; and, last of all, a drove of swine, to fatten on the maize and mast of the country.

When, after a year of impatience and delay, every thing was at last in readiness, the gay Castilian squadron, ten vessels in all, left the harbor of San Lucar to conquer imaginary empires in the New World. The fleet touched at Havana, and the enthusiasm was kindled even to a higher pitch than it had reached in Spain. De Soto left his wife to govern Cuba during his absence; and after a prosperous and exulting voyage of two weeks, the ships cast anchor in Tampa Bay. This was in the early part of June, 1539. When some of the Cubans who had joined the expedition first saw the silent forests and gloomy morasses that stretched before them, they were terrified at the prospect, and sailed back to the security of home; but De Soto and his cavaliers despised such cowardice, and began their march into the interior. During the months of July, August, and September they marched to the northward, wading through swamps, swimming rivers, and fighting the Indians. In October they arrived at the country of the Apalachians, on the left bank of Flint River, where they determined to spend the winter. For four months they remained in this locality, sending out exploring parties in various directions. One of these companies reached the gulf at Pensacola, and made arrangements that supplies should be sent out from Cuba to that place during the following summer.

In the early spring the Spaniards left their winter-quarters, and continued their march to the north and east. An Indian guide told them of a populous empire ruled by a woman. But the story proved to be a delusion. After marching inland the wanderers turned to the westward, and passed down the Alabama River as far as the Indian town called Mauville, or Mobile, where a terrible battle was fought with the natives. The town was set on fire, and two thousand five hundred of the Indians were killed or burned to death. Eighteen of De

Soto's men were killed, and a hundred and fifty wounded. The Spaniards also lost about eighty horses, and all of their baggage.

The ships of supply had meanwhile arrived at Pensacola, but De Soto and his men, although in desperate circumstances, were too stubborn and proud to avail themselves of help, or even to send news of their whereabouts. They turned resolutely to the north; but the country was poor, and their condition grew constantly worse and worse. By the mid-

DE SOTO IN FLORIDA.

dle of December they had reached the country of the Chickasas, in Northern Mississippi. They crossed the Yazoo; the weather was severe; snow fell; and the Spaniards were on the point of starvation. They succeeded, however, in finding some fields of ungathered maize, and then came upon a deserted Indian village, which promised them shelter for the winter. After remaining here till February, 1541, they were suddenly attacked in the dead of night by the Indians, who, at a preconcerted signal, set the town on fire, determined then and there to make an end of the desolating foreigners; but the Spanish weapons and discipline again saved De Soto and his men from destruction.

The guides now brought the Spaniards to the Mississippi. The point where the majestic Father of Waters was first seen by white men was at the lower Chickasaw Bluff, a little north of the thirty-fourth parallel of latitude; the day of the discovery can not certainly be known. The Indians came down the river in a fleet of canoes, and offered to carry the Spaniards over; but the horses could not be transported until barges were built for that purpose. The crossing was not effected until the latter part of May.

De Soto's men now found themselves in the land of the Dakotas. Journeying to the north-west, they passed through a country where wild fruits were plentiful and subsistence easy. The natives were inoffensive and

superstitious. At one place they were going to worship the woe-begone cavaliers as the children of the gods, but De Soto was too good a Catholic to permit such idolatry. The Spaniards continued their march until they reached the St. Francis River, which they crossed and gained the southern limits of Missouri, in the vicinity of New Madrid.

Thence westward the march was renewed for about two hundred miles; thence southward to the Hot Springs and the tributaries of the Washita River. On the banks of this river, at the town of Atiamque, they passed the winter of 1541–42. The Indians were found to be much more civilized than those east of the Mississippi; but their civilization did not protect them in the least from the horrid cruelties which the Spaniards practiced. No consideration of justice or mercy moved the stony hearts of these polite and Christian warriors. Indian towns were set on fire for sport; Indian hands were chopped off for a whim; and Indian captives burned alive because, under fear of death, they had told a falsehood.

But De Soto's men were themselves growing desperate in their misfortunes. They turned again toward the sea, and passing down the tributaries of the Washita to the junction of that stream with the Red River, came upon the Mississippi in the neighborhood of Natchez. The spirit of De Soto was at last completely broken. The haughty cavalier bowed his head and became a prey to melancholy. No more dazzling visions of Peru and Mexico flitted before his imagination. A malignant fever seized upon his emaciated frame, and then death. The priests chanted a requiem, and in the middle of the solemn night his sorrowful companions wrapped the dead hero's body in a flag, and rowing out a distance from shore sunk it in the Mississippi. Ferdinand de Soto had found a grave under the rolling waters of the great river with which his name will be associated forever.

BURIAL OF DE SOTO.

The next attempt by the Spaniards to colonize Florida was in the year 1565. The enterprise was intrusted to PEDRO MELENDEZ, a Spanish soldier of ferocious disposition and criminal practices. He was under sentence to pay a heavy fine at the very time when he received his commission from the bigoted Philip II. The contract between that monarch and Melendez was to the effect that the latter should within three years explore the coast of Florida, conquer the country, and plant in some favorable district a colony of not less than five hundred persons, of whom one hundred should be married men. Melendez was to receive two hundred and twenty-five square miles of land adjacent to the settlement, and an annual salary of two thousand dollars. Twenty-five hundred persons collected around Melendez to join in the expedition. The fleet left Spain in July, reached Porto Rico early in August, and on the 28th of the same month came in sight of Florida.

It must now be understood that the real object had in view by Melendez was to attack and destroy a colony of French Protestants called Huguenots, who, in the previous year, had made a settlement about thirty-five miles above the mouth of the St. John's River. This was, of course, within the limits of the territory claimed by Spain; and Melendez at once perceived that to extirpate these French heretics in the name of patriotism and religion

MASSACRE OF THE HUGUENOTS BY MELENDEZ.

would be likely to restore his shattered character and bring him into favor again. His former crimes were to be washed out in the blood of the innocents. Moreover, the Catholic party at the French court had communicated with the Spanish court as to the whereabouts and intentions of the Huguenots, so that Melendez knew precisely where to find them and how to compass their destruction.

ATAHUALLPA, INCA OF THE PERUVIANS.
After an old copperplate.

It was St. Augustine's day when the dastardly Spaniard came in sight of the shore, but the landing was not effected until the 2d of September. The spacious harbor and the small river which enters it from the south were named in honor of the saint. On the 8th day of the same month Philip II. was proclaimed monarch of all North America; a solemn mass was said by the priests; and there, in the sight of forest and sky and sea, the foundation-stones of the oldest town in the United States were put into their place. This was seventeen years before the founding of Santa Fé by ANTONIO DE ESPEGO, and forty-two years before the settlement at Jamestown.

It appeared to be the destiny of things that Spanish civilization should spread into South rather than into North America. While the premonitory thrills of the Reformatory conflict were agitating Europe, FRANCISCO PIZARRO carried the banner of Spain into the countries south of the Isthmus of Darien. In 1524 he, with a company of followers, made an expedition into Central America. In a second expedition, he succeeded in reaching Peru, to which country he was drawn by fabulous reports of gold. He and Diego de Almagro established themselves on the coast of that country, and began a conquest of the Peruvian Empire. Having obtained from Charles V. the title of governor, and being reïnforced from Spain, the adventurers built a town in the valley of Tangarala, calling it San Miguel.

At this time the Empire of the Incas was distracted by civil war, the two parties being led by Cuzco and Cajamarca, head cities of rival branches of the reigning family. Pizarro took advantage of this condition of affairs by encamping at Cajamarca, and uniting his forces with one of the Incas. But he soon managed to gain possession of the person of the friendly Emperor, and then scattered the Peruvians in all directions. The captive monarch, Atahuallpa, offered as the price of his liberty to fill the apartment in which he was confined with gold, and to this end the temples were stripped and the palace emptied of its treasures. It was estimated that the ornaments and coins which were melted down by Pizarro amounted to more than seventeen millions of dollars. Having obtained this immense booty, the Span-

iards mercilessly put to death the captive Inca, marched on Cuzco, the capital, subverted the Empire, proclaimed the authority of Spain, and built on the river Rimac the new capital called Lima.—Such were the beginnings of the establishment of Spanish influence in the New World. All of these events, however, antedated by more than half a century the true epoch of colonization in North America by the English.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert was perhaps the first to conceive a rational plan of settlement in the new continent which the genius of Cabot had added to the dominions of England. His idea was to form somewhere on the American shores an agricultural and commercial state. With this purpose he sought aid from the queen, and received a liberal patent authorizing him to take possession of any six hundred square miles of unoccupied territory in America, and to plant thereon a colony of which he himself should be proprietor and governor. With this commission, Gilbert assisted by his illustrious step-brother, Walter Raleigh, prepared a fleet of five vessels, and in June of 1583 sailed for the west. Only two days after their departure the best vessel in the fleet treacherously abandoned the rest and returned to Plymouth. Early in August, Gilbert reached Newfoundland, and going ashore took formal possession of the country in the name of his queen. Unfortunately, some of the sailors discovered in the side of a hill scales of mica, and a judge of metals, whom Gilbert had been foolish enough to bring with him, declared that the glittering mineral was silver ore. The crews became insubordinate. Some went to digging the supposed silver and carrying it on board the vessels, while others gratified their piratical propensities by attacking the Spanish and Portuguese ships that were fishing in the neighboring harbors.

Meanwhile, one of Gilbert's vessels became worthless, and had to be abandoned. With the other three he left Newfoundland, and steered toward the south. When off the coast of Massachusetts, the largest of the remaining ships was wrecked, and a hundred men, with all the spurious silver ore, went to the bottom. The disaster was so great that Gilbert determined to return at once to England. The weather was stormy, and the two ships that were now left were utterly unfit for the sea; but the voyage was begun in hope. The brave captain remained in the weaker vessel, a little frigate called the *Squirrel*, already shattered and ready to sink. At midnight, as the ships, within hailing distance of each other, were struggling through a raging sea, the *Squirrel* was suddenly engulfed; not a man of the courageous crew was saved. The other ship finally reached Falmouth in safety.

But the project of colonization was immediately renewed by Raleigh. In the following spring that remarkable man obtained from the queen a new patent fully as liberal as the one granted to Gilbert. Raleigh was to become lord-proprietor of an extensive tract of country in America extending from the thirty-third to the fortieth parallel of north latitude. This territory was to be peopled and organized into a state. The frozen regions of the north were now to be avoided, and the sunny country of the Huguenots was to be chosen as the seat of the rising empire. Two ships were fitted out, and the command given to Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow.

In the month of July the vessels reached the coast of Carolina. The sea that laved the long, low beach was smooth and glassy. The woods were full of beauty and song. The natives were generous and hospitable. Explorations were made along the shores of Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds, and a landing finally effected on Roanoke Island, where the English were entertained by the Indian queen. But neither Amidas nor Barlow had the courage or genius necessary to such an enterprise. After a stay of less than two months they returned to England to exhaust the rhetoric of description in praising the beauties of the new land. In allusion to her her own life and reign, Elizabeth gave to her delightful country in the New World the name of Virginia.

In December of 1584, Sir Walter brought forward a bill in Parliament by which his previous patent was confirmed and enlarged. The mind of the whole nation was inflamed at the prospects which Raleigh's province now offered to emigrants and adventurers. The plan of colonization, so far from being abandoned, was undertaken with renewed zeal and earnestness. The proprietor fitted out a sec-

ond expedition, and appointed the soldierly Ralph Lane governor of the colony. Sir Richard Grenville commanded the fleet, and a company, not unmixed with the gallant young nobility of the kingdom, made up the crew. Sailing from Plymouth, the fleet of seven vessels reached the American coast on the 20th of June. At Cape Fear they were in imminent danger of being wrecked; but having escaped the peril, they six days afterward reached Roanoke in safety. Here Lane was left with a hundred and ten of the immigrants to form a settlement. Grenville, after making a few unsatisfactory explorations, returned to England, taking with him a Spanish treasure-ship which he had captured. Privateering and colonization went hand in hand.

Sir Walter expended two hundred thousand dollars in his attempt to found an American colony, and then gave up the enterprise. He then assigned his exclusive proprietary rights to an association of London merchants, and it was under their auspices that White made the final search for the settlers of Roanoke. From the date of this event very little in the way of voyage and discovery was accomplished by the English until the year 1602, when maritime enterprise again brought the flag of England to the shores of America. BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD was the man to whom belongs the honor of making the next explorations of our coast.

The old route from the shores of Europe to America was very circuitous. Ships from the ports of England, France, and Spain sailed first southward to the Canary Islands, thence to the West Indies, and thence northward to the coast-line of the continent. Abandoning this path as unnecessarily long and out of the way, Gosnold, in a single small vessel called the *Concord*, sailed directly across the Atlantic, and in seven weeks reached the coast of Maine. The distance thus gained was fully two thousand miles. It was Gosnold's object to found a colony, and for that purpose a company of immigrants came with him. Beginning at Cape Elizabeth, explorations were made to the southward; Cape Cod was reached, and here the captain, with four of his men, went on shore. It was the first landing of Englishmen within the limits of New England. Cape Malabar was doubled, and then the vessel, leaving Nantucket on the right, turned into Buzzard's Bay. Selecting the most westerly island of the Elizabeth group, the colonists went on shore, and there began the first New England settlement.

It was a short-lived enterprise. A traffic was opened with the natives which resulted in loading the *Concord* with sassafras root, so much esteemed for its fragrance and healing virtues. Everything went well for a season; but when the ship was about to depart for England, the settlers became alarmed at the prospect before them, and pleaded for permission to return with their friends. Gosnold acceded to their demands, and the island was abandoned. After a pleasant voyage of five weeks, and in less than four months from the time of starting, the *Concord* reached home in safety.

Here we enter the seventeenth century. On the 10th of April, 1606, James I. of England issued two great patents directed to men of his kingdom, authorizing them to possess and colonize all that portion of North America lying between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth parallels of latitude. The immense tract thus embraced extended from the mouth of Cape Fear River to Passamaquoddy Bay, and westward to the Pacific Ocean. The first patent was granted to an association of nobles, gentlemen, and merchants residing at London, and called the LONDON COMPANY, while the second instrument was issued to a similar body which had been organized at Plymouth, in South-western England, and which bore the name of the PLYMOUTH COMPANY. To the former corporation was assigned all the region between the thirty-fourth and the thirty-eighth degrees of latitude, and to the latter the tract extending from the forty-first to the forty-fifth degree. The narrow belt of three degrees lying between the thirty-eighth and forty-first parallels was to be equally open to the colonies of either company, but no settlement of one party was to be made within less than one hundred miles of the nearest settlement of the other. Only the London Company was successful under its charter in planting an American colony.

The man who was chiefly instrumental in organizing the London Company was Bartholomew Gosnold. His leading associates were

Edward Wingfield, a rich merchant, Robert Hunt, a clergyman, and John Smith, a man of genius. Others who aided the enterprise were Sir John Popham, chief-justice of England, Richard Hakluyt, a historian, and Sir Ferdinand Gorges, a distinguished nobleman.

By the terms of the charter, the affairs of the company were to be administered by a Superior Council, residing in England, and an Inferior Council, residing in the colony. The members of the former body were to be chosen by the king, and to hold office at his pleasure; the members of the lower council were also selected by the royal direction, and were subject to removal by the same power. All legislative authority was likewise vested in the monarch. In the first organization of the companies not a single principle of self-government was admitted. The most foolish clause in the patent was that which required the proposed colony or colonies to hold all property in common for a period of five years. The wisest provision in the instrument was that which allowed the emigrants to retain in the New World all the rights and privileges of Englishmen.

In the month of August, 1606, the Plymouth Company sent their first ship to America. The voyage, which was one of exploration, was but half completed, when the company's vessel was captured by a Spanish man-of-war. In the autumn another ship was sent out, which remained on the American coast until the following spring, and then returned with glowing accounts of the country. Encouraged by these reports, the company, in the summer of 1607, dispatched a colony of a hundred persons. Arriving at the mouth of the River Kennebec, the colonists began a settlement under favorable circumstances. Some fortifications were thrown up, a store-house and several cabins built, and the place named St. George. Then the ships returned to England, leaving a promising colony of forty-five members; but the winter of 1607–8 was very severe; some of the settlers were starved and some frozen, the store-house burned, and when summer came the remnant escaped to England.

The London Company had better fortune. A fleet of three vessels was fitted out and the command given to Christopher Newport. On he 9th of December the ships, having on board a hundred and five colonists, among whom were Wingfield and Smith, left England. Newport, to begin with, committed the astonishing folly of taking the old route by way of the Canaries and the West Indies, and did not reach the American coast until the month of April. It was the design that a landing should be made in the neighborhood of Roanoke Island, but a storm prevailed and carried the ships northward into the Chesapeake. Entering the magnificent bay and coasting along the southern shore, the vessels came to the mouth of a broad and beautiful river, which was named in honor of King James. Proceeding up this stream about fifty miles, Newport noticed on the northern bank a peninsula more attractive than the rest for its verdure and beauty; the ships were moored and the emigrants went on shore. Here, on the thirteenth day of May (Old Style), in the year 1607, were laid the foundations of Jamestown, the oldest English settlement in America. It was within a month of a hundred and ten years after the discovery of the continent by the elder Cabot, and nearly forty-two years after the founding of St. Augustine. So long a time had been required to plant the first feeble germ of English civilization in the New World.

After the unsuccessful attempt to form a settlement at the mouth of the Kennebec, very little was done by the Plymouth Company for several years; yet the purpose of planting colonies was not relinquished. Meanwhile, a new impetus was given to the affairs of North Virginia by the ceaseless activity and exhaustless energies of John Smith. Wounded by an accident, and discouraged, as far as it was possible for such a man to be discouraged, by the distractions and turbulence of the Jamestown colony, Smith left that settlement in 1609 and returned to England. On recovering his health, he formed a partnership with four wealthy merchants of London, with a view to the fur-trade and probable establishment of colonies within the limits of the Plymouth grant. Two ships were accordingly freighted with goods and put under Smith's command. The summer of 1614 was spent on the coast of lower Maine, where a profitable traffic was carried on with the Indians. The crews of the vessels were well satisfied through the long

days of July with the pleasures and profits of the teeming fisheries, but Smith himself found nobler work. Beginning as far north as practicable, he patiently explored the country, and drew a map of the whole coast-line from the Penobscot River to Cape Cod. In this map, which is still extant, and a marvel of accuracy considering the circumstances under which it was made, the country was called NEW ENGLAND—a name which Prince Charles confirmed, and which has ever since remained as the designation of the North-eastern States of the Republic.

It was about the year 1617 that the company of English Puritans, then resident in Holland, began to meditate a removal to the wilds of the New World. In their exile they pined with unrest. The unfamiliar language of the Dutch grated harshly on their ears. They would fain find in the land beyond the waters some quiet spot where they might be secure from persecution, and found an English-speaking state in the wilderness. Accordingly, John Carver and Robert Cushman were dispatched to England to ask permission for the Church of Leyden to settle in America. The agents of the London Company and the Council of Plymouth gave some encouragement to the request, but the king and his ministers, especially Lord Bacon, set their faces against any project which might seem to favor heretics. The most that King James would do was to make an informal promise to let the Pilgrims alone in America. Such has always been the despicable attitude of bigotry toward every liberal enterprise.

The Puritans were not discouraged. With or without permission, protected or not protected by the terms of a charter which might at best be violated, they would seek asylum and rest in the Western wilderness. Out of their own resources, and with the help of a few faithful friends, they provided the scanty means of departure, and set their faces toward the sea. The *Speedwell*, a small vessel of sixty tons, was purchased at Amsterdam, and the *Mayflower*, a larger and more substantial ship, was hired for the voyage. The former was to carry the emigrants from Leyden to Southampton, where they were to be joined by the *Mayflower*, with another company from London. Assembling at the harbor of Delft, on the River Meuse, fifteen miles south of Leyden, as many of the Pilgrims as could be accommodated went on board the *Speedwell*. The whole congregation accompanied them to the shore. There Robinson gave them a consoling farewell address, and the blessings and prayers of those who were left behind followed the vessel out of sight.

Both ships came safely to Southampton, and within two weeks the emigrants were ready for the voyage. On the 5th of August, 1620, the vessels left the harbor; but after a few days' sailing the *Speedwell* was found to be shattered, old, and leaky. On this account both ships anchored in the port of Dartmouth, and eight days were spent in making the needed repairs. Again the sails were set; but scarcely had the land receded from sight before the captain of the *Speedwell* declared his vessel unfit to breast the ocean, and then, to the great grief and discouragement of the emigrants, put back to Plymouth. Here the bad ship was abandoned; but the Pilgrims were encouraged and feasted by the citizens, and the more zealous went on board the *Mayflower*, ready and anxious for a final effort. On the 6th of September the first colony of New England, numbering one hundred and two souls, saw the shores of Old England grow dim and sink behind the sea.

The voyage was long and perilous. For sixty-three days the ship was buffeted by storms and driven. It had been the intention of the Pilgrims to found their colony in the beautiful country of the Hudson; but the tempest carried them out of their course, and the first land seen was the desolate Cape Cod. On the 9th of November the vessel was anchored in the bay; then a meeting was held on board, and the colony organized under a solemn compact. In the charter which they there made for themselves the emigrants declared their loyalty to the English Crown, and covenanted together to live in peace and harmony, with equal rights to all, obedient to just laws made for the common good. Such was the simple but sublime constitution of the oldest New England State. A nobler document is not to be found among the records of the world. To this instrument all the heads of families, forty-one in number, solemnly set their names. An election was held, in which all had an equal

voice, and John Carver was unanimously chosen governor of the colony.

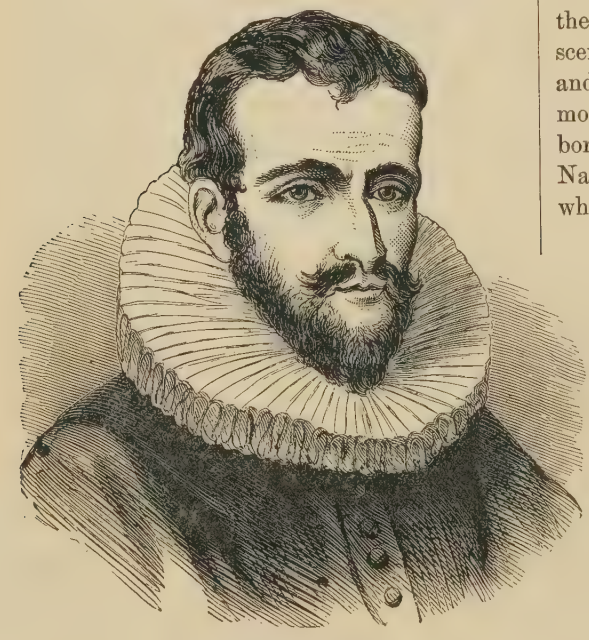
After two days the boat was lowered, but was found to be half rotten and useless. More than a fortnight of precious time was required to make the needed repairs. Standish, Bradford, and a few other hardy spirits got to shore and explored the country; nothing was found but a heap of Indian corn under the snow. By the 6th of December the boat was ready for service, and the governor, with fifteen companions, went ashore. The weather was dreadful. Alternate rains and snow-storms converted the clothes of the Pilgrims into coats-of-mail. All day they wandered about, and then returned to the sea-shore. In the morning they were attacked by the Indians, but escaped to the ship with their lives, cheerful and giving thanks. Then the vessel was steered to the south and west for forty-five miles around the coast of what is now the county of Barnstable. At nightfall of Saturday a storm came on; the rudder was wrenched away, and the poor ship driven, half by accident and half by the skill of the pilot, into a safe haven on the west side of the bay. The next day, being the Sabbath, was spent in religious devotions, and on Monday, the 11th of December (Old Style), 1620, the Pilgrim Fathers landed on the Rock of Plymouth.

THE MAYFLOWER AT SEA.

It was now the dead of winter. There was an incessant storm of sleet and snow, and the houseless immigrants, already enfeebled by their sufferings, fell a-dying of hunger, cold, and exposure. After a few days spent in explorations about the coast, a site was selected near the first landing, some trees were felled, the snow-drifts cleared away, and on the 9th of January the heroic toilers began to build New Plymouth. Every man took on himself the work of making his own house; but the ravages of disease grew daily worse, strong arms fell powerless, lung-fevers and consumptions wasted every family. At one time only seven men were able to work on the sheds which were building for shelter from the storms; and if an early spring had not brought relief, the colony must have perished to a man. Such were the privations and griefs of that terrible winter when NEW ENGLAND began to be.

Meanwhile the Dutch had turned their attention to colonization. Their first settlement in the New World was made on Manhattan or New York Island. The colony resulted from the voyages and explorations of the illustrious SIR HENRY HUDSON. In the year 1607 this great British seaman was employed by a company of London merchants to sail into the North Atlantic and discover a route eastward or westward to the Indies. He made the voyage in a single ship, passed up the eastern coast of Greenland to a higher point of latitude than ever before attained, turned eastward to Spitzbergen, circumnavigated that

Island, and then was compelled by the icebergs to return to England. In the next year he renewed his efforts, hoping to find between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla an open way to the East. By this course he confidently expected to shorten the route to China by at least eight thousand miles. Again the voyage resulted in failure; his employers gave up the enterprise in despair, but his own spirits only rose to a higher determination. When the cautious merchants would furnish no more means, he quitted England and went to Amsterdam. Holland was at this time the foremost maritime nation of the world, and



SIR HENRY HUDSON.

the eminent navigator did not long go begging for patronage in the busy marts of that country. The Dutch East India Company at once furnished him with a ship, a small yacht called the *Half Moon*, and in April of 1609 he set out on his third voyage to reach the Indies. About the seventy-second parallel of latitude, above the capes of Norway, he turned eastward, but between Lapland and Nova Zembla the ocean was filled with icebergs, and further sailing was impossible. Baffled but not discouraged, he immediately turned his prow toward the shores of America; somewhere between the Chesapeake and the North Pole he would find a passage into the Pacific ocean.

In the month of July Hudson reached Newfoundland, and passing to the coast of Maine, spent some time in repairing his ship, which had been shattered in a storm. Sailing thence southward, he touched at Cape Cod, and by the middle of August found himself as far south as the Chesapeake. Again he turned to the north, determined to examine the coast more closely, and on the 28th of the month anchored in Delaware Bay. After one day's explorations the voyage was continued along the coast of New Jersey, until on the 3d of September, the *Half Moon* came to a safe anchorage in the bay of Sandy Hook. Two days later a landing was effected, the natives flocking in great numbers to the scene, and bringing gifts of corn, wild fruits, and oysters. The time until the 9th of the month was spent in sounding the great harbor; on the next day the vessel passed the Narrows, and then entered the noble river which bears the name of Hudson.

To explore the beautiful stream was now the pleasing task. For eight days the *Half Moon* sailed northward up the river. Such magnificent forests, such beautiful hills, such mountains rising in the distance, such fertile valleys, planted here and there with ripening corn, the Netherlanders had never seen before. On the 19th of September the vessel was moored at what is now the landing of Kinderhook; but an exploring party, still unsatisfied, took to the boats and rowed up the river beyond the site of Albany. After some days they returned to the ship, the moorings were loosed, the vessel dropped down the stream, and on the 4th of October the sails were spread for Holland. On the homeward voyage Hudson, not perhaps without a touch of national pride, put into the harbor of Dartmouth. Thereupon the government of King James, with characteristic illiberality, detained the *Half Moon*, and claimed the crew as Englishmen. All that Hudson could do was to forward to his employers of the East India Company an account of his successful voyage and of the delightful country which he had visited under the flag of Holland.

Now were the English merchants ready to spend more money to find the north-west passage. In the summer of 1610, a ship, called

the *Discovery*, was given to Hudson; and, with a vision of the Indies flitting before his imagination, he left England, never to return. He had learned by this time that nowhere between Florida and Maine was there an opening through the continent to the Pacific. The famous pass must now be sought between the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the southern point of Greenland. Steering between Cape Farewell and Labrador, in the track which Frobisher had taken, the vessel came, on the 2d day of August, into the environed with the terrors of winter in the frozen gulf of the North. With unfaltering courage he bore up until his provisions were almost exhausted; spring was at hand, and the day of escape had already arrived, when the treacherous crew broke out in mutiny. They seized Hudson and his only son, with seven other faithful sailors, threw them into an open shallop, and cast them off among the icebergs. The fate of the illustrious mariner has never been ascertained.

THE HALF MOON ASCENDING THE HUDSON.

mouth of the strait which bears the name of its discoverer. No ship had ever before entered these waters.

For a while the way westward was barred with islands; but, passing between them, the bay seemed to open, the ocean widened to the right and left, and the route to China was at last revealed. So believed the great captain and his crew; but, sailing farther to the west, the inhospitable shores narrowed on the more inhospitable sea, and Hudson found himself

In the summer of 1610, the *Half Moon* was liberated at Dartmouth, and returned to Amsterdam. In the same year, several ships owned by Dutch merchants sailed to the banks of the Hudson River, and engaged in the fur-trade. The traffic was very lucrative, and in the two following years other vessels made frequent and profitable voyages. Early in 1614, an act was passed by the States-general of Holland giving to certain merchants of Amsterdam the exclusive right to

trade and establish settlements within the limits of the country explored by Hudson. Under this commission, a fleet of five small trading-vessels arrived, in the summer of the same year, at Manhattan Island. Here some rude huts had already been built by former traders, but now a fort for the defense of the place was erected, and the settlement named NEW AMSTERDAM. In the course of the autumn Adrian Block, who commanded one of the ships, sailed through East River into Long Island Sound, made explorations along the coast as far as the mouth of the Connecticut, thence to Narragansett Bay, and even to Cape Cod. Almost at the same time Christianson, another Dutch commander, in the same fleet, sailed up the river from Manhattan to Castle Island, a short distance below the site of Albany, and erected a block-house, which was named Fort Nassau, for a long time the northern outpost of the settlers on the Hudson. Meanwhile, Cornelius May, the captain of a small vessel called the *Fortune*, sailed from New Amsterdam, and explored the Jersey coast as far south as the Bay of Delaware. Upon these two voyages, one north and the other south from Manhattan Island, where the actual settlement was made, Holland set up a feeble claim to the country, which was now named NEW NETHERLANDS, extending from Cape Henlopen to Cape Cod—a claim which Great Britain and France treated with derision and contempt. Such were the feeble and inauspicious beginnings of the Dutch colonies in New York and Jersey.

Such is the story of the planting of the three principal colonies—two English and one Dutch—on our Eastern shores. The other settlements in New England were for the most part offshoots from the parent colony on Massachusetts Bay. The history of CONNECTICUT begins with the year 1630. While Tilly's soldiers were engaged in the siege of Madgeburg, a grant of American territory was made by the Council of Plymouth to the Earl of Warwick; and in March of 1631 the claim was transferred by him to Lord Say-and-Seal, Lord Brooke, John Hampden, and others. Before a colony could be planted by the proprietors, the Dutch of New Netherland reached the Connecticut River and built at Hartford their fort called the House of Good Hope. The people of New Plymouth immediately organized and sent out a force to counteract this movement of their rivals. The territorial claim of the Puritans extended not only over Connecticut, but over New Netherland itself, and onward to the west. Should the intruding Dutch colonists of Manhattan be allowed to move eastward and take possession of the finest valley in New England? Certainly not.

The English expedition reached the mouth of the Connecticut and sailed up the river. When the little squadron came opposite the House of Good Hope, the commander of the garrison ordered Captain Holmes, the English officer, to strike his colors; but the order was treated with derision. The Dutch threatened to fire in case the fleet should attempt to pass; but the English defiantly hoisted sails and proceeded up the river. The puny cannon of the House of Good Hope failed to turn them back. At a point just below the mouth of the Farmington, seven miles above Hartford, the Puritans landed and built the block-house of Windsor.

In October of 1635 a colony of sixty persons left Boston, traversed the forests of Central Massachusetts and settled at Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield. Earlier in the same year the Younger Winthrop, a man who in all the virtues of a noble life was a worthy rival of his father, the governor of Massachusetts, arrived in New England. He bore a commission from the proprietors of the Western colony to build a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut River, and to prevent the further encroachments of the Dutch. The fortress was hastily completed and the guns mounted just in time to prevent the entrance of a Dutch trading-vessel which appeared at the mouth of the river. Such was the founding of Saybrook, so named in honor of the proprietors, Lords Say-and-Seal and Brooke. Thus was the most important river of New England brought under the dominion of the Puritans; the solitary Dutch settlement at Hartford was cut off from succor and left to dwindle into insignificance.

The founding of Rhode Island was the work of the celebrated Roger Williams, a young minister of Salem village, north of Massachusetts Bay. To him belongs the imperishable honor of being first in America or in Europe

to proclaim the full gospel of religious toleration. He declared to his people that the conscience of man may in no wise be bound by the authority of the magistrate; that civil government has only to do with civil matters, such as the collection of taxes, the restraint and punishment of crime, and the protection of all men in the enjoyment of equal rights. For these noble utterances he was obliged to quit the ministry of the church at Salem and retire to Plymouth. Finally, in 1634, he wrote a paper in which the declaration was made that grants of land, though given by the king of England, were invalid until the natives were justly recompensed. This was equivalent to saying that the colonial charter itself was void, and that the people were really living upon the lands of the Indians. Great excitement was occasioned by the publication, and Williams consented that for the sake of public peace the paper should be burned. But he continued to teach his doctrines, saying that compulsory attendance at religious worship, as well as taxation for the support of the ministry, was contrary to the teachings of the gospel. When arraigned for these bad doctrines, he crowned his offenses by telling the court that a test of church-membership in a voter or a public officer was as ridiculous as the selection of a doctor of physic or the pilot of a ship on account of his skill in theology.

These assertions raised such a storm in court that Williams was condemned for heresy and banished from the colony. In the dead of winter he left home and became an exile in the desolate forest. For fourteen weeks he wandered on through the snow, sleeping at night on the ground or in a hollow tree, living on parched corn, acorns, and roots. He carried with him one precious treasure—a private letter from Governor Winthrop, giving him words of cheer and encouragement. Nor did the Indians fail to show their gratitude to the man who had so nobly defended their

PLYMOUTH VESSEL PASSING GOOD HOPE.

rights. In the country of the Wampanoags he was kindly entertained. The Indian chief Massasoit invited him to his cabin at Pokanoket, and Canonicus, king of the Narragansetts, received him as a friend and brother.

On the left bank of the Blackstone River, near the head of Narragansett Bay, a resting-place was at last found; the exile pitched his tent, and with the opening of spring planted a field and built the first house in the village of Seekonk. Soon the information came that he was still within the territory of Plymouth Colony, and another

THE YOUNGER WINTHROP.

removal became necessary. With five companions who had joined him in banishment, he embarked in a canoe, passed down the river and crossed to the west side of the bay. Here he was safe; his enemies could hunt him no farther. A tract of land was honorably purchased from Canonicus; and in June of 1636, the illustrious founder of Rhode Island laid out the city of PROVIDENCE.

The leader of the new colony was a native of Wales; born in 1606; liberally educated at Cambridge; the pupil of Sir Edward Coke; in after years the friend of Milton; a dissenter; a hater of ceremonies; a disciple of truth in its purest forms; an uncompromising advocate of freedom; exiled *to* Massachusetts, and now exiled *by* Massachusetts, he brought to the banks of the Narragansett the great doctrines of perfect religious liberty and the equal rights of men. If the area of Rhode Island had corresponded with the grandeur of the principles on which she was founded, who could have foretold her destiny?

The beginnings of NEW HAMPSHIRE date as far back as 1622. In that year the territory lying between the rivers Merrimac and Kennebec, reaching from the sea to the St. Lawrence, was granted by the council of Plymouth to Sir Ferdinand Gorges and John Mason. The history of New Hampshire begins with the following year. For the proprietors made haste to secure their new domain by actual settlements. In the early spring of 1623 two small companies of colonists were sent out by Mason and Gorges to people their province. The coast of New Hampshire had first been visited by Martin Pring in 1603. Eleven years later the restless Captain Smith explored the spacious harbor at the mouth of the Piscataqua, and spoke with delight of the deep and tranquil waters.

One party of the new immigrants landed at Little Harbor, two miles south of the present site of Portsmouth, and began to build a village. The other party proceeded up stream, entered the Cocheco, and, four miles above the mouth of that tributary, laid the foundations of Dover. With the exception of Plymouth and Weymouth, Portsmouth and Dover are the oldest towns in New England. But the progress of the settlements was slow; for many years the two villages were only fishing-stations. In 1629 the proprietors divided their dominions, Gorges retaining the part north of the Piscataqua, and Mason taking exclusive control of the district between the Piscataqua and the Merrimac. In May of this year, Rev. John Wheelwright, who soon afterward became a leader in the party of Anne Hutchinson, visited the Abenaki chieftains, and purchased their claim to the soil of the whole territory held by Mason; but, in the following November, Mason's title was confirmed by a second patent from the

council, and the name of the province was changed from Laconia to New Hampshire.

Turning to the South, we find the same kind of expansion of the settlements around the parent colony in Virginia as had taken place in New England. As early as 1621, William Clayborne, a resolute and daring English surveyor, was sent out by the London Company to make a map of the country about the head-waters of the Chesapeake. By the second charter of Virginia, the territory of that province had been extended on the north to the forty-first parallel of latitude. All of the present State of Maryland was included in this enlargement, which also embraced the whole of Delaware and the greater part of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The ambition of Virginia was greatly excited by the possession of this vast domain; to explore and occupy it was an enterprise of the highest importance.

Clayborne was a member of the council of Virginia, and secretary of state in that colony. In May of 1631, he received a royal commission authorizing him to discover the sources of the Chesapeake Bay, to survey the country as far as the forty-first degree of latitude, to establish a trade with the Indians, and to exercise the right of government over the companions of his voyage. This commission was confirmed by Governor Harvey of Virginia, and in the spring of the following year Clayborne began his important and arduous work. The members of the London Company were already gathering imaginary riches from the immense fur-trade of the Potomac and the Susquehanna.

The enterprise of Clayborne was attended with success. A trading-post was established on Kent Island, and another at the head of the bay, in the vicinity of Havre de Grace. The many rivers that fall into the Chesapeake were again explored, and a trade opened with the natives. The limits of Virginia were about to be extended to the borders of New Netherland. But, in the mean time, a train of circumstances had been prepared in England by which the destiny of several American provinces was completely changed. As in many other instances, religious persecution again contributed to lay the foundation of a new State in the wilderness. And Sir George Calvert, of Yorkshire, was the man who was destined to be the founder. Born in 1580; educated at Oxford; a man of much travel and vast experience; an ardent and devoted Catholic; a friend of humanity; honored with knighthood, and afterward with an Irish peerage and the title of Lord Baltimore,—he now in middle life turned aside from the dignities of rank and affluence to devote the energies of his life to the wellfare of the oppressed. For the Catholics of England, as well as the dissenting Protestants, were afflicted with many and bitter persecutions.

RECEPTION OF ROGER WILLIAMS BY THE INDIANS.

Lord Baltimore's first American enterprise was the planting of a Catholic colony in Newfoundland. King James, who was not unfriendly to the Roman Church, had granted him a patent for the southern promontory of the island; and here, in 1623, a refuge was established for distressed Catholics. But in

such a place no colony could be successful. The district was narrow, cheerless, desolate. Profitable industry was impossible. French ships hovered around the coast and captured the English fishing-boats. It became evident that the settlement must be removed, and Lord Baltimore wisely turned his attention to the sunny country of the Chesapeake.

In 1629 he made a visit to Virginia. The general assembly offered him citizenship on condition that he would take an oath of allegiance; but the oath was of such a sort as no honest Catholic could subscribe to. In vain

LORD BALTIMORE.

did Sir George plead for toleration; the assembly was inexorable. It was on the part of the Virginians a short-sighted and ruinous policy. For the London Company had already been dissolved; the king might therefore rightfully regrant that vast territory north of the Potomac which, by the terms of the second charter, had been given to Virginia. Lord Baltimore left the narrow-minded legislators, returned to London, himself drew up a charter for a new State on the Chesapeake, and easily induced his friend, King Charles I., to sign it. The Virginians had saved their religion and lost a province.

The territory embraced by the new patent was bounded by the ocean, by the fortieth parallel of latitude, by a line drawn due south from that parallel to the most western fountain of the Potomac, by the river itself from its source to the bay, and by a line running due east from the mouth of the river to the Atlantic. The domain included the whole of the present States of Maryland and Delaware and a large part of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Here it was the purpose of the magnanimous proprietor to establish an asylum for all the afflicted of his own faith, and to plant a State on the broad basis of religious toleration and popular liberty. The provisions of the charter were the most liberal and ample which had ever received the sanction of the English government. Christianity was declared to be the religion of the State, but no preference was given to any sect or creed. The lives and property of the colonists were carefuly guarded. Free trade was declared to be the law of the province, and arbitrary taxation was forbidden. The rights of the proprietor extended only to the free appointment of the officers of his government. The power of making and amending the laws was conceded to the freemen of the colony or their representatives.

One calamity darkened the prospect. Before the liberal patent could receive the seal of state, Sir George Calvert died. His title and estates descended to his son Cecil; and to him, on the 20th of June, 1632, the charter which had been intended for his noble father, was finally issued. In honor of Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV. of France and wife of Charles I., the name of MARYLAND was conferred on the new province. Independence of Virginia was guaranteed in the constitution of the colony, and no danger was to be anticipated from the feeble forces of New Netherland. It only remained for the younger Lord Baltimore to raise a company of emigrants and carry out his father's benevolent designs. The work went forward slowly, and it was not until November of 1633 that a colony numbering two hundred persons could be collected. Meanwhile, Cecil Calvert had abandoned the idea of coming in person to America, and had appointed his brother Leonard to accompany the colonists to their desti-

nation, and to act as deputy-governor of the new province.

In March of the following year the immigrants arrived at Old Point Comfort. Leonard Calvert bore a letter from King Charles to Governor Harvey of Virginia, commanding him to receive the newcomers with courtesy and favor. The order was complied with, but the Virginians could look only with intense jealousy on a movement which must soon deprive them of the rich fur-trade of the Chesapeake. The colonists proceeded up the bay and entered the Potomac. At the mouth of Piscataway Creek, nearly opposite Mount Vernon, the pinnace was moored, and a cross was set up on an island. On the present site of Fort Washington there was an Indian village, whose inhabitants came out to meet the English. A conference was held, and the sachem of the nation told Leonard Calvert in words of dubious meaning, that he and his colony *might stay or go just as they pleased.* Considering this answer as a menace, and deeming it imprudent to plant his first settlement so far up the river, Calvert again embarked with his companions, and dropped down stream to the mouth of the St. Mary's, within fifteen miles of the bay. Ascending the estuary for about ten miles, he came to an Indian town. The natives had been beaten in battle by the Susquehannas, and were on the eve of migrating into the interior. The village was already half deserted. With the consent of the Red men, the English moved into the vacant huts. The rest of the town was purchased, with the adjacent territory, the Indians promising to give possession to the colonists at the opening of the spring. The name of ST. MARY'S was given to the this oldest colony of Maryland, and the name of the river was changed to St. George's.

South of Virginia, the first effort at colonization was made in 1630. In that year, an immense tract, lying between the thirtieth and the thirty-sixth parallels of latitude, was granted by King Charles to Sir Robert Heath. But neither the proprietor nor his successor, Lord Maltravers, succeeded in planting a colony. After a useless existence of thirty-three years, the patent was revoked by the English sovereign. The only effect of Sir Robert's charter was to perpetuate the name of CAROLINA, which had been given to the country by John Ribault in 1562.

In the year 1622 the country as far south as the river Chowan was explored by Pory, the secretary of Virginia. Twenty years later a company of Virginians obtained leave of the assembly to prosecute discovery on the lower Roanoke and establish a trade with the natives. The first actual settlement was made near the mouth of the Chowan about the year 1651. The country was visited just afterward by Clayborne, of Maryland, and in 1661 a company of Puritans from New England passed down the coast, entered the mouth of Cape Fear River, purchased lands of the Indians, and established a colony on Oldtown Creek, nearly two hundred miles farther south than any other English settlement. In 1663 Lord Clarendon, General Monk, who was now honored with the title of the Duke of Albemarle, and six other noblemen, received at the hands of Charles II. a patent for all the country between the thirty-sixth parallel and the river St. John's, in Florida. With this grant the colonial history of NORTH CAROLINA properly begins.

In the same year a civil government was organized by the settlers on the Chowan. William Drummond was chosen governor, and the name of ALBEMARLE COUNTY COLONY was given to the district bordering on the sound. In 1665 it was found that the settlement was north of the thirty-sixth parallel, and consequently beyond the limits of the province. To remedy this defect the grant was extended on the north to thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes—the present boundary of Virginia—and westward to the Pacific. During the same year the little Puritan colony on Cape Fear River was broken up by the Indians; but scarcely had this been done when the site of the settlement, with thirty-two miles square of the surrounding territory, was purchased by a company of planters from Barbadoes. A new county named CLARENDON was laid out, and Sir John Yeamans elected governor of the colony. The proprietors favored the settlement; immigration was rapid; and within a year eight hundred people had settled along the river.

Not until 1670, however, did the successful managers of these colonies send out com-

panies of settlers into the county of SOUTH CAROLINA. In that year a new colony was raised and put under command of Joseph West and William Sayle. There was at this time not a single European settlement between the mouth of Cape Fear River and the St. John's, in Florida. Here was a beautiful coast of nearly four hundred miles ready to receive the beginnings of civilization. The new emigrants, sailing by way of Barbadoes, steered far to the south, and reached the main-land in the country of the Savannah. The vessels first entered the harbor of Port Royal. It was now a hundred and eight years since John Ribault, on an island in this same harbor, had set up a stone engraved with the lilies of France; now the Englishman had come.

The ships were anchored near the site of Beaufort. But the colonists were dissatisfied with the appearance of the country, and did not go ashore. Sailing northward along the coast for forty miles, they next entered the mouth of Ashley River, and landed where the first high land appeared upon the southern bank. Here were laid the foundations of OLD CHARLESTON, so named in honor of King Charles II. Of this, the oldest town in South Carolina, no trace remains except the line of a ditch which was digged around the fort; a cotton-field occupies the site of the ancient settlement.

Turning again to the north we find the colony of NEW JERSEY arising in close connection with New Netherland. The beginning of its history was the founding of Elizabethtown, in 1664. As early as 1618 a feeble trading station had been established at Bergen, west of the Hudson; but forty years elapsed before permanent dwellings were built in that neighborhood. In 1623 the block-house, called Fort Nassau, was erected at the mouth of Timber Creek, on the Delaware; after a few months' occupancy, May and his companions abandoned the place and returned to New Amsterdam. Six years later the southern part of the present State of New Jersey was granted to Godyn and Blomaert, two of the Dutch patroons; but no settlement was made. In 1634 there was not a single European living between Delaware Bay and the fortieth degree of latitude. In 1651 a considerable district, including the site of Elizabethtown, was purchased by Augustine Herman; but still no colony was planted. Seven years afterwards a larger grant, embracing the old trading house at Bergen, was made; and in 1663 a company of Puritans, living on Long Island, obtained permission of Governor Stuyvesant to settle on the banks of the Raritan; but no settlement was effected until after the conquest.

All the territory of New Jersey was included in the grant made by King Charles to his brother the Duke of York. Two months before the conquest of New Netherland by the English, that portion of the duke's province lying between the Hudson and the Delaware, extending as far north as forty-one degrees and forty minutes, was assigned by the proprietor to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. These noblemen were already proprietors of Carolina; but they had adhered to the king's cause during the civil war in England, and were now rewarded with a second American province. Almost immediately after the conquest another company of Puritans made application to Governor Nicolls, and received an extensive grant of land on Newark Bay. The Indian titles were honorably purchased; in the following October a village was begun and named Elizabethtown, in honor of Lady Carteret.

In August of 1665, Philip Carteret, son of Sir George, arrived as governor of the province. At first he was violently opposed by Nicolls of New York, who refused to believe that the duke had divided his territory. But Carteret was armed with a commission, and could not be prevented from taking possession of the new settlements below the Hudson. Elizabethtown was made the capital of the colony; other immigrants arrived from Long Island and settled on the banks of the Passaic; Newark was founded; flourishing hamlets appeared on the shores of the bay as far south as Sandy Hook. In honor of Sir George Carteret, who had been governor of the Isle of Jersey, in the English Channel, his American domain was named NEW JERSEY.

The seventeenth century was drawing to a close before the Quaker State of PENNSYLVANIA was founded under the auspices of William Penn. The Friends had already planted

some flourishing settlements in New Jersey, and were greatly encouraged with the success of their experiment. Now the prospect of establishing on the banks of the Delaware a free State, founded on the principle of universal brotherhood, kindled a new enthusiasm in the mind of William Penn. For more than a quarter of a century the Friends had been buffeted with shameful persecutions. Imprisonment, exile, and proscription had been their constant portion, but had not sufficed to abate their zeal or to quench their hopes of the future. The lofty purpose and philanthropic spirit of Penn urged him to find for his afflicted people an asylum of rest. In June of 1680 he went boldly to King Charles and petitioned for a grant of territory and the privilege of founding a Quaker commonwealth in the New World.

The petition was seconded by powerful friends in Parliament. Lords North and Halifax and the Earl of Sunderland favored the proposition, and the Duke of York remembered a pledge of assistance which he had given to Penn's father. On the 5th of March, 1681, a charter was granted; the great seal of England, with the signature of Charles II., was affixed, and William Penn became the proprietor of PENNSYLVANIA. The vast domain embraced under the new patent was bounded on the east by the river Delaware, extended north and south over three degrees of latitude, and westward through five degrees of longitude. Only the three counties comprising the present State of Delaware were reserved for the Duke of York.

In consideration of this grant, Penn relinquished a claim of sixteen thousand pounds sterling which the British government owed to his father's estate. He declared that his objects were to found a free commonwealth without respect to the color, race, or religion of the inhabitants; to subdue the natives with no other weapons than love and justice; to establish a refuge for the people of his own faith; and to enlarge the borders of the British empire. One of the first acts of the great proprietor was to address a letter to the Swedes who might be included within the limits of his province, telling them to be of good cheer, to keep their homes, make their own laws, and fear no oppression.

Within a month from the date of his charter, Penn published to the English nation a glowing account of his new country beyond the Delaware, praising the beauty of the scenery and salubrity of the climate, promising freedom of conscience and equal rights, and inviting emigration. There was an immediate and hearty response. In the course of the summer three shiploads of Quaker emigrants left England for the land of promise. William Markham, agent of the proprietor, came as leader of the company and deputy-governor of the province. He was instructed by Penn to rule in accordance with law, to deal justly with all men, and especially to make a league of friendship with the Indians. In October of the same year the anxious proprietor sent a letter directly to the natives of the territory, assuring them of his honest purposes and brotherly affection.

The next care of Penn was to draw up a frame of government for his province. Herein was his great temptation. He had almost exhausted his father's estate in aiding the persecuted Quakers. A stated revenue would be very necessary in conducting his administration. His proprietary rights under the charter were so ample that he might easily reserve for himself large prerogatives and great emoluments in the government. He had before him the option of being a consistent, honest Quaker, or a politic, wealthy governor. He chose like a man; right triumphed over riches. The constitution which he framed was liberal almost to a fault; and the people were allowed to adopt or reject it, as they might deem proper.

In the mean time, the Duke of York had been induced to surrender his claim to the three reserved counties on the Delaware. The whole country on the western bank of the bay and river, from the open ocean below Cape Henlopen to the forty-third degree of north latitude, was now under the dominion of Penn. The summer of 1682 was spent in further preparation. The proprietor wrote a touching letter of farewell to the Friends in England; gathered a large company of emigrants; embarked for America; and, on the 27th of October, landed at New Castle, where the people were waiting to receive him.

William Penn, the founder of Philadelphia, was born on the 14th of October, 1644. He was the oldest son of Vice-Admiral Sir William Penn of the British navy. At the age of twelve he was sent to the University of Oxford, where he distinguished himself as a student until he was expelled on account of his religious opinions. Afterward, he traveled on the Continent; was again a student a Saumur; returned to study law at London; went to Ireland; became a soldier; heard the preaching of Loe, and was converted to the Quaker faith. His disappointed and angry father drove him out of doors, but he was not to be turned from his course. He publicly proclaimed the doctrines of the Friends; was arrested and imprisoned for nine months in the Tower of London. Being released, he repeated the offense, and lay for half a year in a dungeon at Newgate. A second time liberated, but despairing of toleration for his people in England, he cast his gaze across the Atlantic. West Jersey was purchased; but the boundary was narrow, and the great-souled proprietor sought a grander and more beautiful domain. His petition was heard with favor, and the charter of Pennsylvania granted by King Charles. Colonists came teeming; and now the Quaker king himself, without pomp or parade, without the discharge of cannon or vainglorious ceremony, was come to New Castle to found a government on the basis of fraternity and peace. It was fitting that he should call the new republic a "holy experiment."

WILLIAM PENN.
From the painting in possession of the Penn. Historical Society.

As soon as the landing was effected, Penn delivered an affectionate and cheerful address to the crowd of Swedes, Dutch, and English who came to greet him. His former pledges of a liberal and just government were publicly renewed, and the people were exhorted to sobriety and honesty. From New Castle, the governor ascended the Delaware to Chester; passed the site of Philadelphia; visited the settlements of West New Jersey; and thence traversed East Jersey to Long Island and New York. After spending some time at the capital of his friend, the Duke of York, and speaking words of cheer to the Quakers about Brooklyn, he returned to his own province, and began his duties as chief magistrate.

Markham, the deputy-governor, had been instructed to establish fraternal relations with the Indians. Before Penn's arrival treaties had been made, lands purchased, and pledges of friendship given between the Friends and the Red men. Now a great conference was appointed with the native chiefs. All the sachems of the Lenni Lenapes and other neighboring tribes were invited to assemble. The council was held on the banks of the Delaware under the open sky. Penn, accompanied by a few unarmed friends, clad in the simple garb of the Quakers, came to the appointed spot and took his station under a venerable elm, now leafless; for it was winter. The chieftains, also unarmed, sat, after the manner of their race, in a semicircle on the ground. It was not Penn's object to purchase lands, to provide for the interests of trade, or to make a formal treaty, but rather to assure the untutored children of the woods of his honest purposes and brotherly affection. Standing before them with grave demeanor, and speaking by an interpreter, he said: "My

FRIENDS: We have met on the broad pathway of good faith. We are all one flesh and blood. Being brethren, no advantage shall be taken on either side. When disputes arise we will settle them in council. Between us there shall be nothing but openness and love." The chiefs replied: "While the rivers run and the sun shines we will live in peace with the children of William Penn."

No record was made of the treaty, for none was needed. Its terms were written, not on decaying parchment, but on the living hearts of men. No deed of violence or injustice ever marred the sacred covenant. The Indians vied with the Quakers in keeping unbroken the pledge of perpetual peace. For more than seventy years, during which the province remained under the control of the Friends, not a single war-whoop was heard within the borders of Pennsylvania. The Quaker hat and coat proved to be a better defense for the wearer than coat-of-mail and musket.

On the 4th of December, 1682, a general convention was held at Chester. The object was to complete the territorial legislation—a work which occupied three days. At the conclusion of the session, Penn delivered an address to the assembly, and then hastened to the Chesapeake to confer with Lord Baltimore about the boundaries of their respective provinces. After a month's absence he returned to Chester and busied himself with drawing a map of his proposed capital. The beautiful neck of land between the Schuylkill and the Delaware was selected and purchased of the Swedes.

In February of 1683 the native chestnuts, walnuts, and ashes were blazed to indicate the lines of the streets, and PHILADELPHIA — CITY OF BROTHERLY LOVE — was founded. Within a month a general assembly was in session at the new capital. The people were eager that their Charter of Liberties, now to be framed, should be dated at Philadelphia. The work of legislation was begun and a form of government adopted which was essentially a representative democracy. The leading officers were the governor, a council consisting of a limited number of members chosen for three years, and a larger popular assembly, to be annually elected. Penn conceded every thing to the people; but the power of vetoing objectionable acts of the council was left in his hands.

The growth of Philadelphia was astonishing. In the summer of 1683 there were only three or four houses. The ground-squirrels still lived in their burrows, and the wild deer ran through the town without alarm. In 1685 the city contained six hundred houses; the schoolmaster had come and the printing-press had begun its work. In another year Philadelphia had outgrown New York.

It only remains to notice the founding of GEORGIA, though to do so is to violate chronology and carry ourselves forward into the eighteenth century. This, indeed, has been already done—at least the chronological limits of the present Book have been overstepped—in the case of the two Carolinas and Pennsylvania. The unity of the work, however, is best preserved by considering Georgia with the rest. This colony, as in the case of the Quaker State, was the product of a benevolent impulse. An English philanthropist named James Oglethorpe, struck with compassion at the miserable condition of the poor, conceived the design of forming for them an asylum in America. The laws of England permitted imprisonment for debt. Thousands of English laborers, who through misfortune and thoughtless contracts had become indebted to the rich, were annually arrested and thrown into jail. There were desolate and starving families. The miserable condition of the debtor class at last attracted the attention of Parliament. In 1728 Oglethorpe was appointed, *at his own request*, to look into the state of the poor, to visit the prisons of the kingdom, and to report measures of relief. The work was accomplished, the jails were opened, and the poor victims of debt returned to their homes.

The noble commissioner was not yet satisfied. For the liberated prisoners and their friends were disheartened and disgraced in the country of their birth. Was there no land beyond the sea where debt was not a crime, and where poverty was no disgrace? To provide a refuge for the down-trodden poor of England and the distressed Protestants of other countries, the commissioner now appealed to George II. for the privilege of planting a colony in America. The petition was favor-

ably heard, and on the 9th of June, 1732, a royal charter was issued by which the territory between the Savannah and Altamaha Rivers, and westward from the upper fountains of those rivers to the Pacific, was organized and granted to a corporation for twenty-one years, *to be held in trust for the poor*. In honor of the king, the province received the name of GEORGIA.

Oglethorpe was born a loyalist; educated at Oxford; a High Churchman; a cavalier; a soldier; a member of Parliament; benevolent; generous; full of sympathy; far-sighted; brave as John Smith; chivalrous as De Soto. He gave in middle life the full energies of a

OGLETHORPE.

vigorous body and a lofty mind to the work of building in the sunny South an asylum for the oppressed of his own and other lands. To Oglethorpe himself the leadership of the first colony to be planted on the Savannah was intrusted.

By the middle of November a hundred and twenty emigrants were ready to sail for the New World. Oglethorpe, like the elder Winthrop, determined to share the dangers and hardships of his colony. In January of 1733, the company was welcomed at Charleston. The vessels anchored at Beaufort, while the governor, with a few companions, ascended the boundary river of Georgia, and selected as the site of his settlement the high bluff on which now stands the city of Savannah. Here, on the first day of February, were laid the foundations of the oldest English town south of the Savannah River. Broad streets were laid out; a public square was reserved in each quarter; a beautiful village of tents and board houses, built among the pine trees, appeared as the capital of a new commonwealth where men were not imprisoned for debt.

In 1736, a second colony of immigrants arrived. Part of these were the Moravians—a people of deep piety and fervent spirit. First and most zealous among them was the celebrated JOHN WESLEY, founder of Methodism. He came, not as a politician, not as a minister merely, but as an apostle. To spread the Gospel, to convert the Indians, and to introduce a new type of religion characterized by few forms and much emotion—such were the purposes that inspired his hopes. His brother Charles, the poet, a timid and tender-hearted man, acted as secretary to the governor. In 1738, came the famous George Whitefield, whose robust and daring nature proved a match for all the hardships of the wilderness. To these eloquent evangelists of the American dawn must be attributed the seed-sowing and early culture of that fervid form of religion which, from its second planting after the Revolution, was destined to spread from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Such were the half-romantic beginnings of civilization in America. From the founding of the first to the founding of the thirteenth colony a period of a hundred and twenty-six years had elapsed. During this time the Thirty Years' War had, at the beginning, sat like a bloody incubus on the moaning breast of Europe; the English Revolution—the destinies of which are to be recounted in the following Book—had come and gone; the age of Louis XIV. had passed like a spectacle, and many other great movements had taken place among the nations of the continent. For the present, then, we pause, after this glance at affairs in the Western World, and return to our Mother Island, to note therein the outbreak and progress of a momentous battle for civil liberty, a struggle of the People with the Kings.